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DIONYSIUS, of Halicarnassus



THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,
Translated into ENGLISH;
WITH
NOTES and DISSERTATIONS.

BY
EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

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P R E F A C E.

I HAVE often wondered that the history, which I now take the liberty of offering to the public, and which is perpetually quoted by every author, who has written upon the constitution of the Romans, as the source of all their learning, and an authority, to which all men have agreed to submit, should never have appeared in our language. Whether the length of the work, or the difficulty of explaining the original constitution of the Romans, and particularly of ascertaining the differences between the three sorts of comitia, upon which the exercise of that constitution, in a great measure, depended; whether these, or any other motives discouraged our men of learning from attempting a translation of this history, I cannot say: But this I will venture to affirm, that the analogy between the regal constitution of the Romans, and our own, and a more surprising analogy, I mean That between the Greek, and English
a languages,

languages, might very well have encouraged them to translate it, and to recommend it to their countrymen, as a possession they were, in a particular manner, intitled to. Whether my translation of this history will answer the design of such a recommendation, must be left to the voice of the public, upon whose decision, the fate of all productions of this kind must necessarily depend: And the only hope I can entertain that their determination may not be in my disfavor, is derived from the pains I have bestowed upon this translation, rather than from the effect of those pains.

Every reader has a natural curiosity to be informed of the birth, the private life, and character, and of all other particulars relating to the author of any work he peruses: I am sorry it is not in my power to satisfy this reasonable curiosity any otherwise, than by referring my readers to what our author says of himself in the preface to this history: There they will find, among other things, that Dionysius lived at Rome in the Augustan age, an age celebrated above all others in the Roman history both for the great writers it produced, and for the distinguishing encouragement given by Augustus to those writers. He was cotemporary, and, probably, acquainted with Livy, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and many other learned, and polite authors, with whom that remarkable age was adorned, and was himself a conspicuous star in that bright constellation.

I need

*I need not acquaint the learned reader that our author, besides his history, composed many other works, all tending to the improvement of oratorical, and historical writing, some of which are lost; but much the greatest part is preserved, and contains the best precepts to form an orator, and an historian, and to enable others to judge of both. It has been a doubt among the men of learning, whether he published these critical works before, or after his Roman history: ¹ Dodwell has embraced the former opinion; for which he gives this very good reason, that, in his critical works, he never makes any mention of his history, though he often takes notice of the other writings he had before published. Dodwell also thinks that the Cn. Pompeius, to whom he dedicates his criticism upon the Greek historians, was the same person, who was substituted consul (consul suffectus) in the month of October in the Varronian year 723. By this, and many other arguments, it appears that this Cn. Pompeius could not have been the great Pompey, who was slain in Ægypt in 706, though M. * * *, in his preface, has thought fit to establish a friendship between that great man, and our author; and to make the former desire his judgement concerning the Greek historians: This I conclude from his mentioning Pompey without any distinction; which manner of speaking is, both in his, and in all other languages, applicable only to the per-*

¹ Dissert. de Ætat. Dionys. c. vii. & viii.

son, who has rendered his name so famous both by his successes, and his misfortunes.

We know by Photius, who lived in the middle of the ninth century, and by many other authors, that this history contained twenty books, and that Dionysius himself made, what Photius calls, a synopsis of it in five books. So that, the nine last books must have been lost since the middle of the ninth century; but how long since we know not. Henry Glarean, professor at Freiburg, says, at the end of his chronological tables dedicated in 1532 to Ferdinand, then king of the Romans, that these nine books were at that time in being, and concealed by some men of learning: The reason he gives for this assertion is, that Constantine Lascaris, a modern author, cites him in Greek. This, indeed, leaves us some room to hope that they may one day see the light.

I come now to my brother labourers, the translators of Dionysius. The first was Lopus Biragus, a Florentine, who translated the eleven books now remaining into Latin from two old manuscripts, and dedicated his translation to pope Paul the second. It was first printed at Treviso, a town in the territories of the Venetians, in 1480. ² Vossius very justly censures both his fidelity, and his style. The next was That of Gelenius, printed at Basil in 1549. He writes better Latin than Lopus; but the liberties he has taken in mangling the periods

² De Hist. Lat. B. iii. c. 10.

of the Greek text, and of altering many places, which he did not understand, have condemned his translation to be never read: Particularly, after That of Sylburgius appeared in 1586, printed at Frankfort, with the Greek text, which had not been printed with the former Latin translations: Sylburgius had also the assistance of the Venetian, and Roman manuscripts, which his predecessors wanted. Not long after, appeared another Latin translation, viz. in 1590, by Æmilius Portus, which Hudson has printed with the Greek text in 1704: The latter says indeed, in his preface, that he has corrected the translation of Portus, where he thought it necessary: I wish he had oftener thought it necessary; because he has suffered many errors of Portus to stand unmolested. However, this edition of Hudson is by much the best; as the Greek text is throughout illustrated with the notes of Sylburgius, Casaubon, Portus, and some others; all which I have occasionally made use of, and always acknowledged. But the greatest advantage, which this edition has over all the others, is derived from two Vatican manuscripts, one 700 years old for the first ten books, and the other not quite so old for the eleventh book; the readings of both which are set down at the foot of every page; and, in every page, these manuscripts, particularly the first, illustrate the Greek text where it is obscure, explain it where doubtful, and supply it where it is defective. The
great

great advantages, arising from these two manuscripts, ought, most certainly, to have induced Hudson to print his Greek text from them, rather than from the edition of Sylburgius, the defects of which these manuscripts sufficiently shew.

I have now brought down the history of the translations of Dionysius to the year 1722, when a comet appeared in the literary world, portending no less than the extinction of all former translations, and the downfall of their authors: I mean the French translation of the reverend father le Jay, a Jesuit, who had prepared himself for this undertaking by teaching rhetoric in Clermont college at Paris, as he says, for above twenty years; and exhausted the whole stock of his learning, which he had been so long collecting, in polishing, adorning, and rendering his translation more correct and elegant, than any that had ever before appeared in any age, in any country, or in any language. But his brother Jesuits, in their journal of Trevoux for the month of January 1723, usher this translation into the world with so much pomp, that I think myself obliged to give their character of it in English, in order to shew, not what his translation is, but what all translations ought to be. Denys d'Halicarnasse, disent les journalistes, s'assure par lui-même, une constante superiorité de réputation parmi les doctes de profonde littérature; et cette prééminence ne tombera qu'avec eux: la chute s'avance: pour ressourcé, il est un monde entier d'autres personnes, dont l'estime n'hono-

n'honoreroit pas moins la memoire de Denys d'Halicarnasse, et l'auroit lui-même flatté d'avantage : Ce sont une infinité d'honnêtes gens sans Grec, connoisseurs néanmoins par genie, lecteurs par goût, studieux sans besoin, et sçavans sans le sçavoir : ils ne connoissent que de nom Denys d'Halicarnasse ; son Grec le leur rend inaccessible : aujourd'hui l'on produit Denys d'Halicarnasse dans ce nouveau monde. Un interprete également bienfacteur et du public et de l'auteur, acquiert tout à coup à celui-ci un nombre innombrable d'honorables admirateurs, qui l'estimeront par tout son mérite personnel d'historien et d'écrivain, tandis que les sçavans de metier s'acharneront à son Grec . . . C'est à regret que nous nommons version, ou traduction cet ouvrage : ce n'est point un langage Grec rendu en langage François ; c'est l'expression immediate des pensées de Denys d'Halicarnasse ; *la conformité du François avec le Grec, n'est point celle d'une copie à l'original, mais celle d'une copie avec l'autre copie.* On prend plus aisément un auteur, quand on tient de son genie et de son caractère ; et d'imitateur fidelle, on devient avec moins d'effort un fidelle interprete. Sur ce pied, Denys d'Halicarnasse, homme solide et vrai, sage et judicieux, laborieux et infatigable, exact et appliqué, vif et éloquent, amateur des lettres, a trouvé son veritable traducteur ; et il n'est pas étonnant qu'il l'ait si long-tems attendu.

tendu. . . On peut juger de la religion du traducteur à peser scrupuleusement les termes de son auteur, par la reflexion subtile qu'il fait faire sur le mot *ισοψηφια* ; sçavoir que l'égalité des suffrages signifiée par ce nom, se trouve quelquefois dans un nombre de voix inégal ; puisque Denys avance que Coriolan, qui de vint et une voix en avoit douze contre lui, eût été absous par le benefice de la loi touchant l'égalité des suffrages, si deux voix se fussent jointes aux neuf qui lui étoient favorables ; c'est-à-dire, s'il eût eu pour lui onze voix contre douze ; c'est qu'en matiere criminelle, une voix de plus ne suffisoit pas pour condamner ; c'étoit le même effet que si le nombre des voix eût été égal de part et d'autre.

“ *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, say these journalifts, has af-*
 “ *sured to himself a constant superiority of reputation among*
 “ *the men of profound learning ; and this preeminence cannot*
 “ *fall but with them : The fall approaches : To prevent which,*
 “ *there is a whole world of other people, whose esteem would not*
 “ *do less honor to the memory of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and*
 “ *would have flattered him more : These are an infinite number*
 “ *of men of distinction without Greek, but connoisseurs by their*
 “ *genius, readers through taste, studious without necessity, and*
 “ *learned without knowing it : These are acquainted with Dio-*
 “ *nysius of Halicarnassus only by name : His Greek renders him*
 “ *inaccessible*

“ inaccessible to them : Into this new world is Dionysius now
 “ produced : An interpreter, equally a benefactor both to the
 “ public, and to the author, acquires, at once, to the latter a
 “ numberless number of honourable admirers, who will esteem
 “ him for his whole merit of an historian, and a writer, while
 “ the learned by profession will exercise their keenness upon his
 “ Greek . . . We are sorry to call this work a version, or a trans-
 “ lation : It is not the Greek language rendered in French ; it is
 “ the immediate expression of the thoughts of Dionysius ; the con-
 “ formity of the French with the Greek is not That of a copy
 “ with the original, but That of one copy with another copy.
 “ Every one takes an author with ease, when he resembles him
 “ in his genius and character ; and, from being a faithful
 “ imitator, he becomes, with the less effort, a faithful interpre-
 “ ter. Upon this foot, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a man solid
 “ and true, wise and judicious, laborious and indefatigable, ex-
 “ act and intent, lively and eloquent, a lover of letters, has
 “ found his true translator ; and we are not to wonder that he
 “ has so long waited for him . . . We may judge of the religion of
 “ the translator in weighing scrupulously the terms of his author,
 “ by the subtil reflexion he makes upon the word ἰσοψηφία ; which
 “ is, that the equality of suffrages, signified by this word, is
 “ sometimes found in an unequal number of voices ; since Dio-

See the twenty-sixth annotation on the viith book.

“ *nysius asserts that Coriolanus, who, out of 21 voices, had*
 “ *12 against him, would have been acquitted by the benefit of*
 “ *the law concerning the equality of suffrages, if two voices*
 “ *had joined the nine that were for him; that is to say, if he*
 “ *had had 11 voices against 12; because, in criminal cases,*
 “ *a majority of one voice was not sufficient for a condemnation;*
 “ *the effect of it being the same, as if the number of voices had*
 “ *been equal on both sides.” This will suffice (for I omit several*
other panegyrical flights) to shew what opinion these journalists
entertained, or had a mind the world should entertain, of this
famous translation: And yet, methinks, amidst all the praises
they have lavished upon it, they seem, by one expression, to have
left to themselves an opening for an escape, une échappatoire,
if they should ever be heartily pushed upon this subject: The
expression I mean, is this, that the conformity of the French
with the Greek, is not That of a copy with the original,
but That of one copy with another copy. I may venture
to pronounce, since I have shewn it sufficiently in my notes,
that this translation of le Jay is neither more nor less, than a
literal, and not always an exact, translation of the Latin
translation of Portus. It cannot, therefore, be thought too great
a refinement, particularly to those, who are acquainted with
the disingenuous subtilty of this order of men, and what they
are capable of, when the interest, or reputation of their body
is

is concerned, to suspect they designed to conceal their real opinion of this translation under a cloud of praises; and, at the same time, to let some sparks of that opinion break out: But, if those praises were sincere, and they really thought this translation had all that transcendent merit they have ascribed to it, I may safely affirm that, had they not among them greater politicians, than translators, or critics, they would never have acquired both in Europe, and America, the great power, and wealth they are now possessed of; neither would they have had the direction of what they call the consciences, but mean the government, of all the princes of their own communion. If any of his fraternity have a mind to doubt whether the translation of their brother Jesuit is a translation of the Greek, or the Latin, let them open his book where they will, and confront it with the Greek text; and, if they find in it the least pretence to a translation of the latter, I desire that my own translation may be also thought a translation of Portus, or, what is worse, of le Jay himself. But there is another disingenuousness, that he has been guilty of, which shews his heart to have been as bad as his head: His notes throughout are scarce any thing else but literal translations of the notes of Sylburgius, Casaubon, and others, all contained in Hudson's edition under their respective names: These names he has concealed, and imposed their notes upon the world for his own.

I am tired with the invidious task of censuring ; and wish I could say that the other French translation, which appeared the year after, under the name of M. * *, is a translation of Dionysius : But the love of truth compels me to declare what, I think, I have shewn too in my notes, that, as le Jay translated from Portus, this gentleman has translated from Sylburgius. He has, indeed, avoided many absurdities, which the other was led into by too servile an adherence to his original, even to the faults of the impression ; his style, by being more diffuse, is more perspicuous ; and, if he paraphrases, as he often does, he seldom fails to give the sense of his own original at least, which comes nearer to the Greek, than That of le Jay : His notes are often his own ; and, when he borrows Those of others, he often pays them a proper acknowledgement : I wish he had informed his readers that his chronological table was copied literally from That of Dodwell.*

So much has been said both by the ancients, and the moderns in praise of the advantages resulting from the study of history, particularly by Diodorus Siculus, among the former, in the noble preface to his historical collections ; and by the late Lord Bolingbroke, among the moderns, in his admirable letter upon that subject, that I am astonished no treatise has ever yet appeared in any age, or any language professedly written to prescribe rules for writing history ; a work
allowed

allowed to be of the greatest advantage of all others to mankind, the repository of truth fraught with lessons both of public, and private virtue, and enforced by stronger motives, than precepts, by examples. Rules for poetry, and rhetoric have been written by many authors both ancient, and modern, as if delight, and eloquence were of greater consequence than instruction: However, rhetoric was a part of history, as treated by the ancients; not the principal part indeed, but subservient to the principal; and calculated to apply the facts exhibited by the narration. I know it may be said that many ancient histories are still preserved, and that these models are sufficient guides for modern historians without particular rules: So had the Greeks poets of all denominations in their hands, and yet Aristotle thought it necessary to prescribe particular rules to his countrymen for applying those examples to every branch of poetry: I wish he had done the same in history; if he had, it is very probable that his precepts would have rendered the best of our modern histories more perfect, and the worst, less abominable. Since the resurrection of letters, the want of such a guide has been complained of by many authors, and particularly by Rapin in the preface to his history of England. This want I think it not impossible to supply in some degree, not by any thing of my own growth, but by extracting, and
con-

connecting what has been written upon this subject by Dionysius himself, the author of this history; who, in his criticisms upon the Greek historians, and particularly in his parallel between Herodotus and Thucydides, has indirectly laid down rules for attaining all the perfections, and avoiding all the faults, of writing history. I know that Lucian has written a treatise upon this subject, great part of which he has employed in rallying the historians of his own time, in a manner peculiar to himself, with great spirit and elegance of expression; but, at the end of this treatise, he assumes another character, and treats the subject with great gravity and judgement. I also know that Cicero has laid down some directions for the conduct of an historian; the first of which Lord Clarendon has made choice of for the Latin motto of his history: These directions, though conceived with all the power of thought, and expressed with all the power of language, shew what disposition of mind is required in an historian, rather than what rules he ought to pursue; and besides, they are so general, and so short, that I chuse rather to refer the reader to that part of Cicero's works, or to a very good translation of them by Dr. Middleton in the preface to his life, than to insert them here.

Before I present the reader with the comparison between Herodotus, and Thucydides, it will be necessary to premise that Dionysius divides history into two parts, that is, into the pragmatic

matic part, as he calls it, and the language: The former comprehends, 1st, the choice of the subject; 2^{dly}, the knowledge whence to begin, and where to end; 3^{dly}, the discernment between such events, as are to be related, and such as are to be omitted; 4^{thly}, the placing every event in its proper order; and 5^{thly}, the heart of the historian: ⁴ The language he divides into simple elementary words, or atoms of speech, and the composition of those words; both which are susceptible either of a proper, or a figurative, sense: Concerning the last of these, I mean the composition of words, our author has written a treatise, still extant, ⁵ in which he promises another concerning the choice of words; but this, if ever published, is lost. In the first treatise, which has always been deservedly admired, ⁶ he gives the preference, with great reason, to the composition of words, and lays down such rules for this composition, supported throughout by examples drawn from the best Greek writers, both poets, and historians, that any man, by observing them, may acquire a smooth, and harmonious style: And, notwithstanding these rules seem calculated for the Greek language only, their influence will, upon a close examination, appear to be universal, and to govern every other language, both ancient and modern.

⁴ περὶ τῆς ὀργανῆς. χαρῆς. c. xxii.

⁵ περὶ συνθ. ὀνοματ. c. i.

⁶ Ib. c. ii.

Dionysius,

Dionysius, therefore, ⁷ in his comparison of Herodotus with Thucydides, says that the first duty, and possibly the most necessary of all, in an historian, is to make choice of a grand subject, and such a one, as will be agreeable to the reader: In this, he says, Herodotus has the advantage of Thucydides; because his history comprehends the actions both of the Greeks, and Barbarians; and the design of it is to prevent those actions from being buried in oblivion. On the other side, Thucydides writes the history of a single war, and that neither justifiable, nor fortunate; a war, which ought never to have been undertaken; or, if that could not be, to have been delivered up to silence, and shade, and unknown to posterity: And, that he had chosen a bad subject, he himself makes manifest in the preface to his history: For he there says that
“ many Greek cities had been desolated through this war,
“ some by the Barbarians, and others by the Greeks them-
“ selves; that more banishments, and slaughters had hap-
“ pened by that means, than had ever been known before;
“ together with earthquakes, drougths, distempers, and many
“ other calamities.” So that, the readers, by his preface, are alienated from a subject fraught with the misfortunes of Greece. By as much, therefore, as a history, which relates the wonderful actions of the Greeks, and Barbarians, is preferable to one, that displays the miserable, and dreadful

⁷ πρὸς Γναί. Πομπηί. Επιστ.

calamities of the Greeks, by so much is Herodotus more judicious in the choice of his subject, than Thucydides. Neither can it be said, that the latter was compelled to this choice, and knew the other to be more beautiful, but resolved not to treat the same subject with other writers: On the contrary, Thucydides, in his preface, traduces the earlier actions of the Greeks, and says Those of his own time were the greatest, and the most wonderful: Which shews that he voluntarily made choice of these. The conduct of Herodotus was different; and, though Hellanicus, and Charon had treated the same subject before him, he was not discouraged, but thought he could write something more perfect; in which he succeeded.

The second duty relating to the pragmatic part of history, is to know whence to begin, and where to end. In this also, Herodotus seems much more judicious than Thucydides: For he begins by relating the motives, that first induced the Barbarians to injure the Greeks; and, going on, ends in the punishment of the former, and in the revenge taken on them for those injuries. On the other side, Thucydides begins from the time, when the fortune of Greece began to⁸ de-

⁸ The reader will observe, that I read κακως here, instead of καλως, as it stands in all the editions; but the context shews that it must be κακως.

cline; which, as a Greek, and an Athenian, he ought not to have done; particularly, since he was not a man of small repute, but a person distinguished by the Athenians, who had conferred on him the command of their armies, and other honors: Neither ought he openly to have laid the blame of the war upon his country, when he might have charged it on many other causes: Nor to have begun his narration with the affairs of Corcyra; but with the most renowned actions of his country, which she performed immediately after the Persian war; and which he afterwards mentions, indeed, ⁹ but not in their proper place, and that slightly, and cursorily: And, after he had related these actions with great complacency, like a lover of his country, he ought to have added that the Lacedæmonians, from their envy, and dread of these, but from other pretences, entered upon the war: And then to have mentioned the affairs of Corcyra, the vote against the megarenses, and whatever else he thought fit. As for the end of his history, it is still more defective: For, though he says he lived during the whole course of the war; and promises to relate all the events of it, he concludes with the naval engagement between the Athenians, and Peloponnesians off Cynossema, which happened in the twenty second year of that war. But he would have

⁹ Here, again, I read *καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδεύῳ τοῦ πολέμου*, instead of *καὶ ἐν*, etc. which is the reading of all the editions, and renders this sentence inconsistent with That, which immediately precedes it.

done better, if, after he had related all the transactions of it, he had concluded his history in a manner, of all others, the most wonderful, and the most agreeable to his readers; I mean, with the return of the banished men from Phyle, from which time his country began to recover her liberty.

The third duty of an historian is to distinguish between those things, that are to be related, and Those, that are to be omitted. In this also, Thucydides seems inferior to Herodotus: For the latter, being sensible that all narrations, consisting of long discourses, when they have certain resting places, affect the minds of the readers with pleasure; but, if they dwell always upon the same things, however they may succeed in the description of them, they offend the ear with satiety, he resolved, in imitation of Homer, to vary his subject: For which reason, if we take up his book, we admire it even to the last syllable, and always wish for more: Whereas Thucydides describes one war; and, without breathing, accumulates battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, and speeches upon speeches; which tire the minds of his readers: For, as Pindar says, we may be sated both with honey, and women. I am also of opinion that a change, and a variety in writing are delightful things in history; which Thucydides has made use of in two, or three places, I mean, where he accounts for the encrease of the power of the Odrysæ, and describes the cities of Sicily.

After this, it is the duty of an historian to distribute, and place every event in its proper order. How, therefore, does each of these historians distribute, and order his narration? Thucydides pursues the periods of time; and Herodotus the succession of events: By this means, Thucydides is obscure, and hard to be followed: For, as many transactions must have happened in different places during the same summer, and winter, he is obliged to leave the first half finished, and touch upon others, that were in agitation during the same summer, or winter: We wander, therefore, as may well be supposed; and, our minds being confused, we follow his narration with difficulty. Whereas Herodotus, beginning with the kingdom of the Lydians, comes down to That of Cræsus; from whence he presently makes a transition to Cyrus, who put an end to the kingdom of Cræsus; after which, he enters upon the relation of the affairs of the Ægyptians, Scythians, and Libyans: Some of which he introduces as consequential to the former, and others, with a design to render his narration more agreeable: And, in describing the actions of the Greeks, and Barbarians, which happened during the course of two hundred and twenty years, in the three continents, and adding the flight of Xerxes, he has not mangled his history: But it has happened to Thucydides, who chose a single subject, to divide one body into many parts; and to Herodotus, who made choice

choice of many subjects, in no degree resembling one another, to make one concordant body.

I shall mention one branch more of the pragmatic part, which we require in all histories, no less than any of those already mentioned, I mean the heart of the historian, and the disposition of it with regard to the facts he relates. That of Herodotus, which is humane in all things, congratulates the happy, and condoles with the unfortunate : Whereas the disposition of Thucydides is severe, and harsh, and full of resentment against his country for his banishment : For he enumerates all her defeats with the greatest exactness, but takes no notice of her successes ; or, when he does, he seems to be forced to it. For these reasons, Thucydides is inferior to Herodotus in the pragmatic part. As to the language, he is in some parts inferior ; in others, superior ; and, in others, equal. Concerning which also, I shall deliver my opinion.

There is a merit in writing, which may be called the first, and, without which, all others are useless. What is that ? A style, pure in the choice of words, and preserving the true character of the Greek language. In this they are both very exact ; Herodotus being the standard of the Ionic, and Thucydides

cydides of the Attic, language. Conciseness has the¹⁰ third place, In this, Thucydides seems to have the advantage of Herodotus. However, it may be said that, when conciseness is attended with perspicuity, it is pleasing; but, when it wants that, it is harsh. But let not this consideration stop us. After these, illustration has the first place among the adventitious merits: In this, the success of both is sufficiently conspicuous. After this merit, is placed the imitation both of the manners, and the passions: This merit the two historians have divided between them: For Thucydides has the advantage of expressing the passions; and Herodotus That of representing the manners. After these come the merits, that shew the great, and wonderful art of the composition. In these also, the historians are equal. Then follow Those, that comprehend the strength, vehemence, and such like powers of eloquence: In these Thucydides is superior to Herodotus; but the latter carries pleasure, persuasion, delight, and all merits of that kind to a much greater height than Thucydides. The phraseology of Herodotus is natural; and That of Thucydides vehement; who is

¹⁰ The second merit in language is unfortunately left out in all the editions, and manuscripts. Sylburgius refers us to two passages in our author's judgment of Lyfias, and to one in That of Isocrates: I have consulted them all; but none of them will supply this hiatus.

always

always uniform in his language. But the principal merit of all others is to characterize every thing : In this, Herodotus is more exact than Thucydides : For the latter is uniform in all things, and more so in his speeches than in his narration. However, I am of opinion that Demosthenes has particularly adopted his sentences. Upon the whole, the poetical pieces of both are fine (for I am not afraid of giving them that name) but the greatest difference between them, is this : The beauty of Herodotus is chearful ; and That of Thucydides, terrible."

These are the rules laid down by Dionysius for writing history ; and, by these rules, he has examined the histories of Herodotus, and Thucydides, of Xenophon, Philistus, and Theopompus. Nothing, therefore, can be more just than to examine his own history by his own rules ; and to inquire how far his practice has been consistent with his theory.

The choice of the subject is the first thing we are to consider : Of this he has said so much in his preface, that no man can refuse him the merit of having chosen the noblest subject, that history can treat of : The rise and progress, the original, and improved constitution of a state, which in time conquered, and governed the greatest part of the then known world, must be allowed to open a scene, in which history, and philosophy have

have an opportunity of displaying all their powers for the information, instruction, and improvement of mankind.

It is not without reason, that our author dates the beginning of his history from the infant state of the Roman commonwealth : For, though it may generally be true that the origin of a people, as containing mean incidents, and something of Barbarism in it, seldom draws the attention of the reader ; yet the origin of so considerable a people as the Romans will always be interesting ; and the world will be curious to inquire into the source of a river so large, and so awful in its course, and, though sometimes apt to overflow its banks, yet always carrying with it greater fertility, than desolation. It is impossible to speak of the beginning of our author's history, without mentioning his preface, which makes so great a figure in his own language, whatever it may do in mine : This preface, which is not like That of Sallust, applicable to any other history, or to any other kind of writing, is adapted to his subject, and to that alone. In that part of it, in which he compares the empire of the Romans with other empires, he seems to have imitated Polybius, who, in his preface also, compares the power of the Romans with That of the Lacedæmonians, the Persians, and the Macedonians ; and, like our author, gives the preference to the power of the Romans : But every one, who reads the two prefaces, will find this subject treated in a much greater extent,
and

and with greater beauty both of thought, and language by Dionysius, than by Polybius: To whom, however, the former has paid a tacit compliment, in ending his history where Polybius begins his; that is, at the first Punic war. This, indeed, shews either his despair of surpassing him in treating the same subject; or his modesty in not attempting it.

Let us now examine in what manner our author has acquitted himself of the third duty incumbent upon an historian, which, he says, is That of knowing what to relate, and what to omit. Under this head, he blames Thucydides, as we have seen, for dwelling too long upon the same subject; which he himself has with great judgement avoided. With this view, he has introduced the digression concerning Aristodemus in the beginning of the seventh book, in order to relieve his readers from the long contests, which preceded the establishment of the tribunes of the people, and had taken up the greatest part of the sixth book. And, in the seventh book also, the long political debates in the affair of Coriolanus are succeeded by an entertaining relation of processions, and games. Among the meritorious omissions of our author, I must place That of a horrid, and incredible incident related by ¹¹ Livy, who makes Mucius

¹¹ Book ii. Chap. 12.

Scævola roast his hand in the fire, in order to shew Porsena how much those, who aimed at a great name, despised their persons.

The order, in which the events are to be placed, is the next point he recommends. In this, he has followed the succession of events, without breaking his narration by the intervention of summers, and winters. A remarkable instance of this appears in the sixth book, where, the election of the consuls coming on during the secession of the people, he does not interrupt the narration of the events, with which the secession was attended; but, having just given the names of the new consuls, and mentioned the Olympiad, in which they were chosen, he hastens to the senate, and gives the speeches, that were made there for, and against the return of the people.

It is with pleasure that I now enter upon that part of our author's writing, which relates to him more as a man, than as an historian. It is impossible to read his history, without discovering in the author, a mind fraught with all the elements of humanity, a sincere, a mild, and an honest heart; an unaffected love of virtue; and, what is more amiable than a detestation of vice, a compassion for it; he congratulates indeed the happy, and condoles with the miserable, but without insulting even those, who deserve their

their misery: He is never satisfied with celebrating the bravery, the patriotifm, the frugality, and contempt of riches in the old Romans; nor with lamenting the degeneracy of Thofe of his own time: Upon the whole, he teaches by precept what his, and every other history, will teach by examples, that the prosperity of every nation is owing to their public, and private virtue, and their adverfity to the want of both. His love of liberty is no lefs conspicuous than his love of virtue: He never lofes an opportunity of afcribing the greatness of thofe old Romans to their liberty, and their liberty to their virtue; and is alarmed at the leaft appearance of danger, which threatens them with the lofs of either. What prince can read the characters given by him of Numa, and the laft Tarquin, without a wifh that his memory may be as much revered by pofterity as That of Numa, or without a dread of being delivered down to the lateft ages, as a tyrant, and a criminal of the firft magnitude, like Tarquin? History is the tribunal, before which all princes muft one day appear, and derive their lafting glory, or difhonour from her decifions. When they themfelves are no more; when the mercenary fcribblers of their time are as much forgotten as their works, then history takes her feat; and, like juftice with her ballance, but with eagle's eyes, weighs

every action, and explores the actor's heart; strips ambition of her vain disguise, and treats a conqueror like a successful robber: Then will just praise be given to the prince, who made the happiness of his people his only care, and their law his only guide; whose only errors, if they were errors, proceeded from an excess of goodness misapplied, and are almost transformed to virtues by the dignity of the principle, from whence they flowed: Such a prince will history paint in her fairest colors, and decorate him for nations yet unborn to love, and for princes yet unborn to imitate.

I should now, to follow our author's progression, examine his style; but, if I was to enter into particulars, this examination would lead me a great way, not to mention the many Greek quotations, of which it must consist: I shall, therefore, say in general, that his language is Attic, perfectly pure and elegant: When I call it Attic, I do not mean such trifles as writing a ξ for a σ; but I mean an Attic diction; such a one as Thucydides, and Xenophon, and, before them, Herodotus, were celebrated for: Since the latter, though he writ in the Ionic dialect, has many Attic phrases, whether originally natives of Athens, or afterwards made free of that city, I cannot say; and it is upon his smooth, and flowing style chiefly, that Dionysius

nysius seems to have formed his own: This, I think, I have proved in several of my notes. For this reason, I could never understand what ¹² Photius meant, when he said our author was την λεξιν καινοπρεπης, that he had a becoming novelty in his style. Dionysius is certainly no innovator either in the choice, or in the composition, of his words; but it is well known that Photius was patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century; and, though a man of learning, lived in an ignorant age, when the delicacy of the Greek language was much declined. I think the character Cicero has given of the style of Herodotus may well be applied to That of our author; sine ullis salebris, quasi sedatus amnis, fluit. This is very different from the style of some admired Latin authors, and more different yet from the short unrelative style, that now prevails among the French writers; whose concise, acuminate, unconnected periods are like so many proverbs, and follow, rather than succeed, one another. Among the many beauties of our author's style, I must not omit one, which is more or less to be found in all good writers in all languages, and never fails to charm the reader; I mean his poetical expressions: With these he has animated his style, particularly in his speeches, which, by this means, become elevated and pathetic,

¹² Cod. 86.

and insensibly persuade, while they seem intended only to please: To this the composition alone of his words does not a little contribute; and to the harmony of his composition I shall apply what he himself says of his favourite orator Demosthenes, that¹³ his style comprehends numbers, some complete and perfect, others, incomplete; but so connected together, and compounded, that it is impossible to discover them to be numbers: By which means his style is poetical, not poetry; and melodious, not melody.

The reader may very well expect that I should give a reason for my not having accented the Greek in my notes: This will naturally lead to a question, which has been, long since, discussed by men of great learning both in our own nation, and in others. Most of them I have read, and chuse rather to refer my readers to them, than to repeat what they have said; to avoid which, I shall lay before the reader only two arguments, which I have not met with in any of those authors, and which convince me, though I myself was taught otherwise, that Greek prose ought to be read, like verse, according to the quantity, without any regard to the accents. It is left to those, who do me the honor to read this, to determine whether my conviction is well or ill founded. The first of these arguments will,

¹³ περί της λεξικ. Δημοσθ. δεινότη. c. 50.

I think,

I think, shew that the design of accents was not to transform long syllables into short, and short syllables into long; and consequently, as I said, that we ought to read Greek prose according to the quantity, without suffering this to be destroyed by the accents.

I could prove the proposition I have advanced by many passages taken from our author's treatise, concerning the composition of words; but I shall content myself with one of them, which, by its simplicity, will be intelligible, and consequently conclusive: The passage I mean is quoted by him from ¹⁴ Plato to shew what kind of composition constitutes dignity, and from what feet, or metre, it is derived: This passage is taken from his ἐπιλαφίος λόγος, and is as follows; Εγὼ μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσηκουῖα σφισιν αὐτοῖς ὧν τυχευοῖτες, πορευοῖται τὴν ἐμαρμενὴν πορείαν. I shall only make use of the last member of this period; which, I believe, will be sufficient to prove all that I propose. If we read this according to the accents, it must be pronounced thus ὧν τυχόοντες πορεύευνται τὴν ἐμαρμένην πορείαν. Here the penultima of πορεύευνται, from being long, is by the accent made short; and the penultima of ἐμαρμένην, from being short, is made long: But I shall now shew that

¹⁴ περὶ συνθέσ. ονομαλ. C. 18.²

the first ought to be read, as it is, long; and the last, as it is, short. Dionysius, in scanning this member of the period, says that the first and second feet of it, ὦν τυχόντες πορεύ, are cretic; that the two following ὄνταί τῇν εἶ, are spondees; then another cretic, μαρμένῃν; and the last a hypobacchius, πορείαν. Now it is plain that, if we read this according to the accents, the first of the two spondees will be an iambic, ὄνταί; and μαρμένῃν will not be a cretic, but a molossus. This confusion of long, and short syllables will be avoided, if we can but persuade ourselves that Dionysius knew how to pronounce his own language.

The patrons of accents do, indeed, allow that we must read verse according to the quantity: But, if it happens that there are verses intermixed with prose, ¹⁵ as our author has shewn there are many in Demosthenes of several sorts, which, he says, were the effect of choice, not of accident, and designed to render his style melodious; how are we to read these verses? Are we to read them, like the context, according to the accents? In that case, they will cease to be verses: Or must we not read both them, and the context according to the quantity, which alone can prevent these verses from distinguishing themselves too much,

¹⁵ Ib. c. 25.

and from interrupting that harmony of style, which they were designed to promote?

The other argument is this: ¹⁶ Aristotle says that iambic verse is the very language of the vulgar; for which reason, they made use of iambics more than of any other verses in talking; ὁ δὲ ἱαμβὸς αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἱαμβεῖα φθεγγούται λεγούρες. If iambics were the language of the vulgar, the language of the vulgar must be pronounced like iambics: But the patrons of accents allow that iambics must be pronounced according to the quantity; therefore the language of the vulgar must be pronounced according to the quantity. I have not the least suspicion of any argument, that can be opposed to this; though I am sensible that prejudices are great logicians, and will find cavils, where reasons are wanting; and here indolence comes to their assistance; and both master, and scholar are concerned in adhering to the old method of reading Greek according to the accents: For a boy may be taught to read that language tolerably well according to the accents in a very few months, when as many years will be necessary to enable him to read it according to the quantity; which is a knowledge the master himself must be well acquainted with, unless he has a mind the say-

¹⁶ *Prilogia*. Book iii. chap. 8.

ing of Petronius should be applied to him, plus docet quam scit. The difficulty in reading Greek according to the quantity, is occasioned by the three common, or doubtful vowels, α, ι, υ; which, though called by that name, are all of them always long in some words, and always short in others: This distinction is only to be acquired by a long conversation with the Greek poets: For no prosodies, that I have seen, will teach it. From this laborious task we are freed by the accents, which present us with a language unknown either to the ancients, or moderns, a language without quantity.

To what purpose then, will it be said, were the Greek accents introduced, if no regard is to be paid to them in pronouncing that language? To this I answer, that they were designed to mark the ¹⁷ elevation, and depression of the voice; but not to interfere with the quantity: And that the ancient Greeks had accents (contrary to the opinion of many learned men) and also a name for those accents, will appear beyond contradiction by a passage in ¹⁸ Strabo, where, in speaking of the Ilienses, he says that the Palladium, which was shewn by them in his time, was in a standing posture; but That, mentioned by Homer, sitting, which he proves by ¹⁹ this passage in that poet,

Θεῖναι Αθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν —.

¹⁷ Priscian, B. xv. Diomed. B. ii. ¹⁸ B. xiii. p. 897. Edit. of Casaub.

¹⁹ Il. Z. v. 92.

To this argument, he says, the Ilienses gave an idle answer, alledging that the accent, which he calls προσῳδία, in γούνασιν, ought to be transferred, from the antepenultima, to the penultima, and then ἐπὶ γουνάσιν will signify ἐπὶ ἐκτελεσίαις. And here it is well worth observing that the translation of the accent, here contended for by the Ilienses, could only transfer the elevation of the voice, not the emphasis, or the quantity; otherwise, the metre would not have been preserved, as the reader will see, when the whole verse is laid before him.

Θεῖναί Ἀθηνάϊης ἔπ' ἔγουνά σιν ἢ ὕμνοιο.

The προσῳδαί of the Greeks were ²⁰ called by the ancient Latin authors, notæ vocum, moderamenta, accentuunculæ, and vocationes.

These passages sufficiently prove the antiquity of accents; but, as the moderns have for many ages made an ill use of them, and employed them to confound the quantity, instead of directing the elevation, and depression of the voice, for which they were originally designed; and, as this last application of the accents is irrecoverably lost, I cannot see to what purpose they should be retained; particularly since those, who read Greek according to the accents, are always misled, and those, who read it according to the quantity, often insnared, by them.

²⁰ Gell. Book xiii. chap. 6.

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Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Afca- nius.	Metonic Period.		Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Silvius	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
1171	3543	13	6	21 22		1124	3590	60	15	68 69	28
1170	44	14	7	22 23		23	91	61	16	69 70	29
69	45	15	8	23 24		22	92	62	17	70 71	30
68	46	16	9	24 25		21	93	63	18	71 72	31
67	47	17	10	25 26		1120	94	64	19	72 73	32
66	48	18	11	26 27		19	95	65	20	73 74	33
65	49	19	12	27 28		18	96	66	21	74 75	34
64	3550	20	13	28 29		17	97	67	22	75 76	35
63	51	21	14	29 30		16	98	68	23	76 77	36
62	52	22	15	30 31		15	99	69	24	77 78	37
61	53	23	16	31 32		14	3600	70	25	78 79	38
1160	54	24	17	32 33		13	1	71	26	79 80	39
59	55	25	18	33 34		12	2	72	27	80 81	40
58	56	26	19	34 35		11	3	73	28	81 82	41
57	57	27	20	35 36		1110	4	74	29	82 83	42
56	58	28	21	36 37							
55	59	29	22	37 38							
54	3560	30	23	38 39							
53	61	31	24	39 40	Alba built.	9	5	75	1	83 84	43
52	62	32	25	40 41	1	8	6	76	2	84 85	44
51	63	33	26	41 42	2	7	7	77	3	85 86	45
1150	64	34	27	42 43	3	6	8	78	4	86 87	46
49	65	35	28	43 44	4	5	9	79	5	87 88	47
48	66	36	29	44 45	5	4	3610	80	6	88 89	48
47	67	37	30	45 46	6	3	11	81	7	89 90	49
46	68	38	31	46 47	7	2	12	82	8	90 91	50
45	69	39	32	47 48	8	1	13	83	9	91 92	51
44	3570	40	33	48 49	9	1100	14	84	10	92 93	52
43	71	41	34	49 50	10	99	15	85	11	93 94	53
42	72	42	35	50 51	11	98	16	86	12	94 95	54
41	73	43	36	51 52	12	97	17	87	13	95 96	55
1140	74	44	37	52 53	13	96	18	88	14	96 97	56
39	75	45	38	53 54	14	95	19	89	15	97 98	57
			Silvius			94	3620	90	16	98 99	58
38	76	46	1	54 55	15	93	21	91	17	99 100	59
37	77	47	2	55 56	16	92	22	92	18	100 1	60
36	78	48	3	56 57	17	91	23	93	19	1 2	61
35	79	49	4	57 58	18	1090	24	94	20	2 3	62
34	3530	50	5	58 59	19	89	25	95	21	3 4	63
33	81	51	6	59 60	20	88	26	96	22	4 5	64
32	82	52	7	60 61	21	87	27	97	23	5 6	65
31	83	53	8	61 62	22	86	28	98	24	6 7	66
1130	84	54	9	62 63	23	85	29	99	25	7 8	67
29	85	55	10	63 64	24	84	3630	100	26	8 9	68
28	86	56	11	64 65	25	83	31	1	27	9 10	69
27	87	57	12	65 66	26	82	32	2	28	10 11	70
26	88	58	13	66 67	27	81	33	3	29	11 12	71
25	89	59	14	67 68		1080	34	4	30	12 13	72
						79	35	5	31	13 14	73

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Latinus Silvius.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Latinus Silvius.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
1078	3636	106	1	114 115	74	1030	3684	154	49	10	122
77	37	7	2	15 16	75	29	85	55	50	11	23
76	38	8	3	16 17	76	28	86	56	51	12	24
75	39	9	4	17 18	77						
74	3640	110	5	18 19	78				Albas Silvius.		
73	41	11	6	19 120	79	27	87	57	1	13	25
72	42	12	7	120 21	80	26	88	58	2	14	26
71	43	13	8	21 22	81	25	89	59	3	15	27
1070	44	14	9	22 23	82	24	3690	160	4	16	28
69	45	15	10	23 24	83	23	91	61	5	17	29
68	46	16	11	24 25	84	22	92	62	6	18	130
67	47	17	12	25 26	85	21	93	63	7	19	31
66	48	18	13	26 27	86	1020	94	64	8	20	32
65	49	19	14	27 28	87	19	95	65	9	21	33
64	3650	120	15	28 29	88	18	96	66	10	22	34
63	51	21	16	29 130	89	17	97	67	11	23	35
62	52	22	17	130 31	90	16	98	68	12	24	36
61	53	23	18	31 32	91	15	99	69	13	25	37
1060	54	24	19	32 33	92	14	3700	170	14	26	38
59	55	25	20	33 34	93	13	1	71	15	27	39
58	56	26	21	34 35	94	12	2	72	16	28	140
57	57	27	22	35 36	95	11	3	73	17	29	41
56	58	28	23	36 37	96	1010	4	74	18	30	42
55	59	29	24	37 38	97	9	5	75	19	31	43
54	3660	130	25	38 39	98	8	6	76	20	32	44
53	61	31	26	39 140	99	7	7	77	21	33	45
52	62	32	27	140 41	100	6	8	78	22	34	46
51	63	33	28	41 42	1	5	9	79	23	35	47
1050	64	34	29	42 43	2	4	3710	180	24	36	48
49	65	35	30	43 44	3	3	11	81	25	37	49
48	66	36	31	44 45	4	2	12	82	26	38	150
47	67	37	32	45 46	5	1	13	83	27	39	51
46	68	38	33	46 47	6	1000	14	84	28	40	52
45	69	39	34	47 48	7	99	15	85	29	41	53
44	3670	140	35	48 49	8	98	16	86	30	42	54
43	71	41	36	49 150	9	97	17	87	31	43	55
42	72	42	37	150 51	110	96	18	88	32	44	56
41	73	43	38	51 52	11	95	19	89	33	45	57
1040	74	44	39	52 1	12	94	3720	190	34	46	58
39	75	45	40	1	13	93	21	91	35	47	59
38	76	46	41	2	14	92	22	92	36	48	160
37	77	47	42	3	15	91	23	93	37	49	61
36	78	48	43	4	16	90	24	94	38	50	62
35	79	49	44	5	17	89	25	95	39	51	63
34	3680	150	45	6	18						
33	81	51	46	7	19				Capetus.		
32	82	52	47	8	120	88	26	96	1	52	64
31	83	53	48	9	21	87	27	97	2	53	65

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Albas Silvius.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Capys.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
986	3728	198	3	54	166	938	3776	246	25	102	214
85	29	99	4	55	67	37	77	47	26	3	15
84	3730	200	5	56	68	36	78	48	27	4	16
83	31	1	6	57	69	35	79	49	28	5	17
82	32	2	7	58	170						
81	33	3	8	59	71				Calpe- tus.		
980	34	4	9	60	72	34	3780	250	1	6	18
79	35	5	10	61	73	33	81	51	2	7	19
78	36	6	11	62	74	32	82	52	3	8	220
77	37	7	12	63	75	31	83	53	4	9	21
76	38	8	13	64	76	930	84	54	5	110	22
75	39	9	14	65	77	29	85	55	6	11	23
74	3740	210	15	66	78	28	86	56	7	12	24
73	41	11	16	67	79	27	87	57	8	13	25
72	42	12	17	68	180	26	88	58	9	14	26
71	43	13	18	69	81	25	89	59	10	15	27
970	44	14	19	70	82	24	3790	260	11	16	28
69	45	15	20	71	83	23	91	61	12	17	29
68	46	16	21	72	84	22	92	62	13	18	230
67	47	17	22	73	85						
66	48	18	23	74	86				Tibe- rinus.		
65	49	19	24	75	87	21	93	63	1	19	31
64	3750	220	25	76	88	920	94	64	2	120	32
63	51	21	26	77	89	19	95	65	3	21	33
			Capys.			18	96	66	4	22	34
62	52	22	1	78	190	17	97	67	5	23	35
61	53	23	2	79	91	16	98	68	6	24	36
960	54	24	3	80	92	15	99	69	7	25	37
59	55	25	4	81	93	14	3800	270	8	26	38
58	56	26	5	82	94						
57	57	27	6	83	95				Agrip- pas.		
56	58	28	7	84	96	13	1	71	1	27	39
55	59	29	8	85	97	12	2	72	2	28	240
54	3760	230	9	86	98	11	3	73	3	29	41
53	61	31	10	87	99	910	4	74	4	130	42
52	62	32	11	88	200	9	5	75	5	31	43
51	63	33	12	89	1	8	6	76	6	32	44
950	64	34	13	90	2	7	7	77	7	33	45
49	65	35	14	91	3	6	8	78	8	34	46
48	66	36	15	92	4	5	9	79	9	35	47
47	67	37	16	93	5	4	3810	280	10	36	48
46	68	38	17	94	6	3	11	81	11	37	49
45	69	39	18	95	7	2	12	82	12	38	250
44	3770	240	19	96	8	1	13	83	13	39	51
43	71	41	20	97	9	900	14	84	14	140	52
42	72	42	21	98	210	899	15	85	15	41	53
41	73	43	22	99	11	98	16	86	16	42	54
940	74	44	23	100	12	97	17	87	17	43	55
39	75	45	24	1	13	96	18	88	18	44	56

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Agrip- pas.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Aven- tinus.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
895	3819	289	19	145	257	851	3863	333	3	37	301
94	3820	290	20	46	58	850	64	34	4	38	2
93	21	91	21	47	59	49	65	35	5	39	3
92	22	92	22	48	260	48	66	36	6	40	4
91	23	93	23	49	61	47	67	37	7	41	5
890	24	94	24	150	62	46	68	38	8	42	6
89	25	95	25	51	63	45	69	39	9	43	7
88	26	96	26	52	64	44	3870	340	10	44	8
87	27	97	27	1	65	43	71	41	11	45	9
86	28	98	28	2	66	42	72	42	12	46	310
85	29	99	29	3	67	41	73	43	13	47	11
84	3830	300	30	4	68	840	74	44	14	48	12
83	31	1	31	5	69	39	75	45	15	49	13
82	32	2	32	6	270	38	76	46	16	50	14
81	33	3	33	7	71	37	77	47	17	51	15
880	34	4	34	8	72	36	78	48	18	52	16
79	35	5	35	9	73	35	79	49	19	53	17
78	36	6	36	10	74	34	3880	350	20	54	18
77	37	7	37	11	75	33	81	51	21	55	19
76	38	8	38	12	76	32	82	52	22	56	320
75	39	9	39	13	77	31	83	53	23	57	21
74	3840	310	40	14	78	830	84	54	24	58	22
73	41	11	41	15	79	29	85	55	25	59	23
			Alladi- us.			28	86	56	26	60	24
						27	87	57	27	61	25
72	42	12	1	16	280	26	88	58	28	62	26
71	43	13	2	17	81	25	89	59	29	63	27
870	44	14	3	18	82	24	3890	360	30	64	28
69	45	15	4	19	83	23	91	61	31	65	29
68	46	16	5	20	84	22	92	62	32	66	330
67	47	17	6	21	85	21	93	63	33	67	31
66	48	18	7	22	86	820	94	64	34	68	32
65	49	19	8	23	87	19	95	65	35	69	33
64	3850	320	9	24	88	18	96	66	36	70	34
63	51	21	10	25	89	17	97	67	37	71	35
62	52	22	11	26	290				Procas.		
61	53	23	12	27	91	16	98	68	1	72	36
860	54	24	13	28	92	15	99	69	2	73	37
59	55	25	14	29	93	14	3900	370	3	74	38
58	56	26	15	30	94	13	1	71	4	75	39
57	57	27	16	31	95	12	2	72	5	76	340
56	58	28	17	32	96	11	3	73	6	77	41
55	59	29	18	33	97	810	4	74	7	78	42
54	3860	330	19	34	98	9	5	75	8	79	43
			Aven- tinus.			8	6	76	9	80	44
						7	7	77	10	81	45
53	61	31	1	35	99	6	8	78	11	82	46
52	62	32	2	36	300	5	9	79	12	83	47

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Pro- cas.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.
804	3910	380	13	84	348	
3	11	81	14	85	49	
2	12	82	15	86	350	
1	13	83	16	87	51	
800	14	84	17	88	52	
99	15	85	18	89	53	
98	16	86	19	90	54	
97	17	87	20	91	55	
96	18	88	21	92	56	
95	19	89	22	93	57	
94	3920	390	23	94	58	
			Amu- lius.			
93	21	91	1	95	59	
92	22	92	2	96	360	
91	23	93	3	97	61	
790	24	94	4	98	62	
89	25	95	3	99	63	
88	26	96	6	100	64	
87	27	97	7	1	65	
86	28	98	8	2	66	
85	29	99	9	3	67	
84	3930	400	10	4	68	
83	31	1	11	5	69	
82	32	2	12	6	370	
81	33	3	13	7	71	
780	34	4	14	8	72	
79	35	5	15	9	73	
78	36	6	16	110	74	
77	37	7	17	11	75	
76	38	8	18	12	76	1 0 1
75	39	9	19	13	77	1 2 2
74	3940	410	20	14	78	2 3 3
73	41	11	21	15	79	3 4 4
72	42	12	22	16	380	1 2 4 1 2
71	43	13	23	17	81	2 1 2 2
770	44	14	24	18	82	2 3 3
69	45	15	25	19	83	3 4 4
68	46	16	26	120	84	2 3 4 1 3
67	47	17	27	21	85	3 1 2 3
66	48	18	28	22	86	2 3 3

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Amu- lius.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.			
765	3949	419	29	123	387	3 $\frac{3}{4}$			
64	50	420	30	24	88	$\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{4}{1}$			
63	51	21	31	25	89	4 $\frac{1}{2}$			
62	52	22	32	26	390	$\frac{2}{3}$			
61	53	23	33	27	91	$\frac{3}{4}$			
760	54	24	34	28	92	$\frac{4}{5}$ $\frac{4}{1}$			
59	55	25	35	29	93	5 $\frac{1}{2}$			
58	56	26	36	130	94	$\frac{2}{3}$			
57	57	27	37	31	95	$\frac{3}{4}$			
56	58	28	38	32	96	$\frac{5}{6}$ $\frac{4}{1}$			
55	59	29	39	33	97	6 $\frac{1}{2}$			
54	3960	430	40	34	98	$\frac{2}{3}$		Rome. Varron. æra.	
53	61	31	41	35	99	$\frac{3}{4}$		I	
52	62	32	42	36	400	$\frac{6}{7}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	Rome built.	2	
			Romu- lus.				Caton. æra.		
51	63	33	I	37	I	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	
750	64	34	2	38	2	$\frac{2}{3}$	2	4	
49	65	35	3	39	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5	
48	66	36	4	140	4	$\frac{7}{8}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	4	6	
47	67	37	5	41	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	7	
46	68	38	6	42	6	$\frac{2}{3}$	6	8	
45	69	39	7	43	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	7	9	
44	3970	440	8	44	8	$\frac{8}{9}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	8	10	
43	71	41	9	45	9	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	11	
42	72	42	10	46	410	$\frac{2}{3}$	10	12	
41	73	43	11	47	11	$\frac{3}{4}$	11	13	
740	74	44	12	48	12	$\frac{9}{10}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	12	14	

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Romu- lus.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
739	3975	445	13	149	413	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	15
38	76	46	14	150	14	$\frac{2}{3}$	14	16
37	77	47	15	51	15	$\frac{3}{4}$	15	17
36	78	48	16	52	16	10 $\frac{4}{1}$	16	18
35	79	49	17	1	17	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	19
34	3980	450	18	2	18	$\frac{2}{3}$	18	20
33	81	51	19	3	19	$\frac{3}{4}$	19	21
32	82	52	20	4	420	11 $\frac{4}{1}$	20	22
31	83	53	21	5	21	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	23
730	84	54	22	6	22	$\frac{2}{3}$	22	24
29	85	55	23	7	23	$\frac{3}{4}$	23	25
28	86	56	24	8	24	12 $\frac{4}{1}$	24	26
27	87	57	25	9	25	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	27
26	88	58	26	10	26	$\frac{2}{3}$	26	28
25	89	59	27	11	27	$\frac{3}{4}$	27	29
24	3990	460	28	12	28	13 $\frac{4}{1}$	28	30
23	91	61	29	13	29	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	31
22	92	62	30	14	430	$\frac{2}{3}$	30	32
21	93	63	31	15	31	$\frac{3}{4}$	31	33
720	94	64	32	16	32	14 $\frac{4}{1}$	32	34
19	95	65	33	17	33	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	35
18	96	66	34	18	34	$\frac{2}{3}$	34	36
17	97	67	35	19	35	$\frac{3}{4}$	35	37
16	98	68	36	20	36	15 $\frac{4}{1}$	36	38
15	99	69	37	21	37	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	37	39
14	4000	470	Interreg- num. 1	22	38	$\frac{2}{3}$	38	40

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Numa.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
713	4001	471	1	23	439	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	39	41
12	2	72	2	24	440	16 $\frac{4}{17}$	40	42
11	3	73	3	25	41	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	41	43
710	4	74	4	26	42	$\frac{2}{3}$	42	44
-9	5	75	5	27	43	$\frac{3}{4}$	43	45
8	6	76	6	28	44	17 $\frac{4}{18}$	44	46
7	7	77	7	29	45	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	45	47
6	8	78	8	30	46	$\frac{2}{3}$	46	48
5	9	79	9	31	47	$\frac{3}{4}$	47	49
4	4010	480	10	32	48	18 $\frac{4}{19}$	48	50
3	11	81	11	33	49	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	49	51
2	12	82	12	34	450	$\frac{2}{3}$	50	52
1	13	83	13	35	51	$\frac{3}{4}$	51	53
700	14	84	14	36	52	19 $\frac{4}{20}$	52	54
699	15	85	15	37	53	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	53	55
98	16	86	16	38	54	$\frac{2}{3}$	54	56
97	17	87	17	39	55	$\frac{3}{4}$	55	57
96	18	88	18	40	56	20 $\frac{4}{21}$	56	58
95	19	89	19	41	57	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	59
94	4020	490	20	42	58	$\frac{2}{3}$	58	60
93	21	91	21	43	59	$\frac{3}{4}$	59	61
92	22	92	22	44	460	21 $\frac{4}{22}$	60	62
91	23	93	23	45	61	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	61	63
690	24	94	24	46	62	$\frac{2}{3}$	62	64
89	25	95	25	47	63	$\frac{3}{4}$	63	65
88	26	96	26	48	64	22 $\frac{4}{23}$	64	66
87	27	97	27	49	65	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	65	67

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Numa.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
686	4028	498	28	50	466	23 $\frac{2}{3}$	66	68
85	29	99	29	51	67	$\frac{3}{4}$	67	69
84	4030	500	30	52	68	$\frac{23}{24}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	68	70
83	31	1	31	53	69	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	69	71
82	32	2	32	54	470	$\frac{2}{3}$	70	72
81	33	3	33	55	71	$\frac{3}{4}$	71	73
680	34	4	34	56	72	$\frac{24}{25}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	72	74
79	35	5	35	57	73	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	75
78	36	6	36	58	74	$\frac{2}{3}$	74	76
77	37	7	37	59	75	$\frac{3}{4}$	75	77
76	38	8	38	60	76	$\frac{25}{26}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	76	78
75	39	9	39	61	77	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	77	79
74	4040	510	40	62	78	$\frac{2}{3}$	78	80
73	41	11	41	63	79	$\frac{3}{4}$	79	81
72	42	12	42	64	480	$\frac{26}{27}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	80	82
71	43	13	43	65	81	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	81	83
			Tullus Hosti.					
670	44	14	1	66	82	$\frac{2}{3}$	82	84
69	45	15	2	67	83	$\frac{3}{4}$	83	85
68	46	16	3	68	84	$\frac{27}{28}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	84	86
67	47	17	4	69	85	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	87
66	48	18	5	70	86	$\frac{2}{3}$	86	88
65	49	19	6	71	87	$\frac{3}{4}$	87	89
64	4050	520	7	72	Alba rafed.	$\frac{28}{29}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	88	90
63	51	21	8	73		29 $\frac{1}{2}$	89	91
62	52	22	9	74		$\frac{2}{3}$	90	92
61	53	23	10	75		$\frac{3}{4}$	91	93
660	54	24	11	76		$\frac{29}{30}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	92	94

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Tullus Hosti.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.		
659	4055	525	12	77	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	93	95		
58	56	26	13	78	$\frac{2}{3}$	94	96		
57	57	27	14	79	$\frac{3}{4}$	95	97		
56	58	28	15	80	30 $\frac{4}{1}$ 31	96	98		
55	59	29	16	81	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	97	99		
54	4060	530	17	82	$\frac{2}{3}$	98	100		
53	61	31	18	83	$\frac{3}{4}$	99	1		
52	62	32	19	84	31 $\frac{4}{1}$ 32	100	2		
51	63	33	20	85	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3		
650	64	34	21	86	$\frac{2}{3}$	2	4		
49	65	35	22	87	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5		
48	66	36	23	88	32 $\frac{4}{1}$ 33	4	6		
47	67	37	24	89	33 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	7		
46	68	38	25	90	$\frac{2}{3}$	6	8		
45	69	39	26	91	$\frac{3}{4}$	7	9		
44	4070	540	27	92	33 $\frac{4}{1}$ 34	8	110		
43	71	41	28	93	34 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	11		
42	72	42	29	94	$\frac{2}{3}$	110	12		
41	73	43	30	95	$\frac{3}{4}$	11	13		
640	74	44	31	96	34 $\frac{4}{1}$ 35	12	14		
39	75	45	32	97	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	15		
			Ancus Marcius.						
38	76	46	1	98	$\frac{2}{3}$	14	16		
37	77	47	2	99	$\frac{3}{4}$	15	17		
36	78	48	3	100	35 $\frac{4}{1}$ 36	16	18		
35	79	49	4	1	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	19		
34	4080	550	5	2	$\frac{2}{3}$	18	120		
33	81	51	6	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	19	21		

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Ancus Marcius.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
632	4082	552	7	104	$\frac{36}{37} \frac{4}{1}$	120	122
31	83	53	8	5	$\frac{37}{38} \frac{1}{2}$	21	23
630	84	54	9	6	$\frac{2}{3}$	22	24
29	85	55	10	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	23	25
28	86	56	11	8	$\frac{37}{38} \frac{4}{1}$	24	26
27	87	57	12	9	$\frac{38}{39} \frac{1}{2}$	25	27
26	88	58	13	110	$\frac{2}{3}$	26	28
25	89	59	14	11	$\frac{3}{4}$	27	29
24	4090	560	15	12	$\frac{38}{39} \frac{4}{1}$	28	130
23	91	61	16	13	$\frac{39}{40} \frac{1}{2}$	29	31
22	92	62	17	14	$\frac{2}{3}$	130	32
21	93	63	18	15	$\frac{3}{4}$	31	33
620	94	64	19	16	$\frac{39}{40} \frac{4}{1}$	32	34
19	95	65	20	17	$\frac{40}{41} \frac{1}{2}$	33	35
18	96	66	21	18	$\frac{2}{3}$	34	36
17	97	67	22	19	$\frac{3}{4}$	35	37
16	98	68	23	120	$\frac{40}{41} \frac{4}{1}$	36	38
15	99	69	24	21	$\frac{41}{42} \frac{1}{2}$	37	39
			Tarq. Priscus.				
14	4100	70	1	22	$\frac{2}{3}$	38	140
13	1	71	2	23	$\frac{3}{4}$	39	41
12	2	72	3	24	$\frac{41}{42} \frac{4}{1}$	140	42
11	3	73	4	25	$\frac{42}{43} \frac{1}{2}$	41	43
610	4	74	5	26	$\frac{2}{3}$	42	44
9	5	75	6	27	$\frac{3}{4}$	43	45
8	6	76	7	28	$\frac{42}{43} \frac{4}{1}$	44	46
7	7	77	8	29	$\frac{43}{44} \frac{1}{2}$	45	47
6	8	78	9	130	$\frac{2}{3}$	46	48

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Tarq. Priscus.	Metonic Period.	Olymp. piad.	Carth. era.	Varon. era.	Julian period	Before Christ.
605	4109	579	10	131	43 $\frac{3}{4}$	147	149	772	772
4	4110	580	11	32	43 $\frac{4}{4}$	48	150		
3	11	81	12	33	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	49	51	78	77
2	12	82	13	34	44 $\frac{2}{3}$	150	52	78	77
1	13	83	14	35	44 $\frac{3}{4}$	51	53	79	77
600	14	84	15	36	44 $\frac{4}{4}$	52	54	79	77
599	15	85	16	37	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	53	55	79	77
98	16	86	17	38	45 $\frac{2}{3}$	54	56	79	77
97	17	87	18	39	45 $\frac{3}{4}$	55	57	79	77
96	18	88	19	40	45 $\frac{4}{4}$	56	58	79	77
95	19	89	20	41	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	59	79	77
94	4120	590	21	42	46 $\frac{2}{3}$	58	60	79	77
93	21	91	22	43	46 $\frac{3}{4}$	59	61	79	77
92	22	92	23	44	46 $\frac{4}{4}$	60	62	79	77
91	23	93	24	45	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	61	63	79	77
590	24	94	25	46	47 $\frac{2}{3}$	62	64	79	77
89	25	95	26	47	47 $\frac{3}{4}$	63	65	79	77
88	26	96	27	48	48 $\frac{4}{4}$	64	66	79	77
87	27	97	28	49	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	65	67	79	77
86	28	98	29	150	48 $\frac{2}{3}$	66	68	79	77
85	29	99	30	51	48 $\frac{3}{4}$	67	69	79	77
84	4130	600	31	52	49 $\frac{4}{4}$	68	70	79	77
83	31	1	32	1	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	69	71	79	77
82	32	2	33	2	49 $\frac{2}{3}$	70	72	79	77
81	33	3	34	3	49 $\frac{3}{4}$	71	73	79	77
580	34	4	35	4	49 $\frac{4}{4}$	72	74	79	77
79	35	5	36	5	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	75	79	77
78	36	6	37	6	50 $\frac{2}{3}$	74	76	79	77

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Tarq. Priscus.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
577	4137	607	38	7	$50 \frac{3}{4}$	175	177
			Servius Tullius.				
76	38	8	1	8	$50 \frac{4}{1}$	76	78
75	39	9	2	9	$51 \frac{1}{2}$	77	79
74	4140	610	3	10	$52 \frac{2}{3}$	78	180
73	41	11	4	11	$53 \frac{3}{4}$	79	81
72	42	12	5	12	$54 \frac{4}{1}$	180	82
71	43	13	6	13	$55 \frac{1}{2}$	81	83
570	44	14	7	14	$56 \frac{2}{3}$	82	84
69	45	15	8	15	$57 \frac{3}{4}$	83	85
68	46	16	9	16	$58 \frac{4}{1}$	84	86
67	47	17	10	17	$59 \frac{1}{2}$	85	87
66	48	18	11	18	$60 \frac{2}{3}$	86	88
65	49	19	12	19	$61 \frac{3}{4}$	87	89
64	4150	620	13	20	$62 \frac{4}{1}$	88	190
63	51	21	14	21	$63 \frac{1}{2}$	89	91
62	52	22	15	22	$64 \frac{2}{3}$	190	92
61	53	23	16	23	$65 \frac{3}{4}$	91	93
560	54	24	17	24	$66 \frac{4}{1}$	92	94
59	55	25	18	25	$67 \frac{1}{2}$	93	95
58	56	26	19	26	$68 \frac{2}{3}$	94	96
57	57	27	20	27	$69 \frac{3}{4}$	95	97
56	58	28	21	28	$70 \frac{4}{1}$	96	98
55	59	29	22	29	$71 \frac{1}{2}$	97	99
54	4160	630	23	30	$72 \frac{2}{3}$	98	200
53	61	31	24	31	$73 \frac{3}{4}$	99	1
52	62	32	25	32	$74 \frac{4}{1}$	200	2
51	63	33	26	33	$75 \frac{1}{2}$	1	3

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Servius Tullius.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
550	4164	634	27	34	57 $\frac{2}{3}$	202	204
49	65	35	28	35	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5
48	66	36	29	36	$\frac{57}{58} \frac{4}{1}$	4	6
47	67	37	30	37	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	7
46	68	38	31	38	$\frac{2}{3}$	6	8
45	69	39	32	39	$\frac{1}{4}$	7	9
44	4170	640	33	40	$\frac{58}{59} \frac{4}{1}$	8	210
43	71	41	34	41	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	11
42	72	42	35	42	$\frac{2}{3}$	210	12
41	73	43	36	43	$\frac{3}{4}$	11	13
540	74	44	37	44	$\frac{59}{60} \frac{4}{1}$	12	14
39	75	45	38	45	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	15
38	76	46	39	46	$\frac{2}{3}$	14	16
37	77	47	40	47	$\frac{3}{4}$	15	17
36	78	48	41	48	$\frac{60}{61} \frac{4}{1}$	16	18
35	79	49	42	49	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	19
34	4180	650	43	50	$\frac{3}{4}$	18	220
33	81	51	44	51	$\frac{3}{4}$	19	21
			Tarq. Superbus.				
32	82	52	1	52	$\frac{61}{62} \frac{4}{1}$	220	22
31	83	53	2	53	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	23
530	84	54	3	54	$\frac{2}{3}$	22	24
29	85	55	4	55	$\frac{3}{4}$	23	25
28	86	56	5	56	$\frac{62}{63} \frac{4}{1}$	24	26
27	87	57	6	57	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	27
26	88	58	7	58	$\frac{2}{3}$	26	28
25	89	59	8	59	$\frac{3}{4}$	27	29
24	4190	660	9	60	$\frac{63}{64} \frac{4}{1}$	28	230

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	V. Tarq. Superbus.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.		
523	4191	661	10	61	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	231		077
22	92	62	11	62	$\frac{2}{3}$	230	32		
21	93	63	12	63	$\frac{3}{4}$	31	33		
520	94	64	13	64	$\frac{64}{65}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	32	34		
19	95	65	14	65	$\frac{1}{2}$	33	35		
18	96	66	15	66	$\frac{2}{3}$	34	36		
17	97	67	16	67	$\frac{3}{4}$	35	37		
16	98	68	17	68	$\frac{68}{69}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	36	38		
15	99	69	18	69	$\frac{1}{2}$	37	39		
14	4200	670	19	70	$\frac{2}{3}$	38	240		
13	1	71	20	71	$\frac{3}{4}$	39	41		
12	2	72	21	72	$\frac{66}{67}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	240	42		
11	3	73	22	73	$\frac{1}{2}$	41	43		
510	4	74	23	74	$\frac{2}{3}$	42	44		
9	5	75	24	75	$\frac{3}{4}$	43	45		
8	6	76	25 Expelled.	76	$\frac{67}{68}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	44	46		

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.	Expul- sion.	CONSULS.
507	4207	677	77	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	245	247	1	Lucius Junius Brutus, succeeded by Spurius Lucretius, the father of Lu- cretia; who was succeeded by Marcus Horatius. Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, succeeded by Publius Valerius Poplicola.
6	8	78	78	$\frac{2}{3}$	46	48	2	Publius Valerius Poplicola II. Titus Lucretius.
5	9	79	79	$\frac{3}{4}$	47	49	3	Publius Valerius Poplicola III. Marcus Horatius II.
4	4210	680	80	$\frac{68}{69}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	48	250	4	Spurius Lartius. Titus Herminius.
3	11	81	81	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	49	51	5	Marcus Valerius. Publius Postumius Tubertus.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. era.	Varron. era.	Expul- sion.	CONSULS.
502	4212	682	82	69 $\frac{2}{3}$	250	252	6	Publius Valerius Poplicola IV. Titus Lucretius II.
1	13	83	83	$\frac{3}{4}$	51	53	7	Publius Postumius Tubertus II. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
500	14	84	84	$\frac{69}{70}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	52	54	8	Spurius Cassius Viscellinus. Opiter Virginius Tricostus.
99	15	85	85	$\frac{70}{1}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	53	55	9	Postumus Cominius. Titus Lartius.
98	16	86	86	$\frac{2}{3}$	54	56	10	Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. Manius Tullius Longus.
97	17	87	87	$\frac{3}{2}$	55	57	11	Publius Veturius Geminus. Titus Æbutius Elva.
96	18	88	88	$\frac{70}{71}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	56	58	12	Titus Lartius Flavus II. Quintus Clælius Siculus.
95	19	89	89	$\frac{71}{1}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	57	59	13	Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. Marcus Minucius.
94	4220	690	90	$\frac{2}{3}$	58	260	14	Aulus Postumius. Titus Virginius.
93	21	91	91	$\frac{3}{4}$	59	61	15	Appius Claudius Sabinus. Publius Servilius Priscus.
92	22	92	92	$\frac{71}{72}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	260	62	16	Aulus Virginius Cælimontanus. Titus Veturius Geminus.]
91	23	93	93	$\frac{72}{1}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	61	63	17	Postumus Cominius II. Spurius Cassius II.
490	24	94	94	$\frac{2}{3}$	62	64	18	Titus Geganius Macerinus. Publius Minucius.
89	25	95	95	$\frac{3}{4}$	63	65	19	Marcus Minucius Augurinus II. Aulus Sempronius Atratinus II.
88	26	96	96	$\frac{72}{73}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	64	66	20	Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus. Spurius Lartius Flavus II.
87	27	97	97	$\frac{73}{1}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	65	67	21	Caius Julius Iulus. Publius Pinarius Rufus.
86	28	98	98	$\frac{2}{3}$	66	68	22	Spurius Nautius. Sextus Furius.
85	29	99	99	$\frac{3}{4}$	67	69	23	Caius Aquilius. Titus Sicinus.
84	30	700	100	$\frac{73}{74}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	68	270	24	Proculus Virginius. Spurius Cassius III.
83	31	1	1	$\frac{74}{1}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	69	71	25	Quintus Fabius, the son of Cæso. Servius Cornelius.
82	32	2	2	$\frac{2}{3}$	70	72	26	Lucius Æmilius, the son of Mamercus. Cæso Fabius, the son of Cæso.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron æra.	Expul- sion.	CONSULS.
481	4233	703	103	74 $\frac{3}{4}$	271	273	27	Marcus Fabius, the son of Cæso. Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus.
480	34	4	4	74 $\frac{4}{5}$	72	74	28	Caius Julius Iulus II. Quintus Fabius II.
79	35	5	5	75 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	75	29	Cæso Fabius II. Spurius Furius.
78	36	6	6	$\frac{2}{3}$	74	76	30	Cneius Manlius. Marcus Fabius II.
77	37	7	7	$\frac{4}{5}$	75	77	31	Cæso Fabius III. Titus Virginus.
76	38	8	8	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	76	78	32	Lucius Æmilius II. Caius Servilius.
75	39	9	9	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	77	79	33	Caius Horatius. Titus Menenius.
74	4240	710	110	$\frac{2}{3}$	78	280	34	Spurius Servilius. Aulus Virginus.
73	41	11	11	$\frac{3}{4}$	79	81	35	Publius Valerius Poplicola. Caius Nautius.
72	42	12	12	76 $\frac{4}{5}$	280	82	36	Aulus Manlius. Lucius Furius.
71	43	13	13	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	81	83	37	Lucius Æmilius Mamercus III. Vopiscus Julius Iulus.
470	44	14	14	$\frac{2}{3}$	82	84	38	Lucius Pinarius. Publius Furius.
69	45	15	15	$\frac{3}{4}$	83	85	39	Titus Quintius Capitolinus. Appius Claudius Sabinus.
68	46	16	16	77 $\frac{4}{5}$	84	86	40	Lucius Valerius II. Tiberius Æmilius.
67	47	17	17	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	87	41	Aulus Virginus Nomentanus. Titus Numicius Priscus.
66	48	18	18	$\frac{2}{3}$	86	88	42	Titus Quintius Capitolinus II. Quintus Servilius Priscus.
65	49	19	19	$\frac{3}{4}$	87	89	43	Tiberius Æmilius II. Quintus Fabius.
64	4250	720	120	78 $\frac{4}{5}$	88	290	44	Spurius Postumius Albinus. Quintus Servilius Priscus II.
63	51	21	21	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	89	91	45	Titus Quintius Capitolinus III. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus II.
62	52	22	22	$\frac{2}{3}$	290	92	46	Aulus Postumius Albus. Spurius Furius.
61	53	23	23	$\frac{3}{4}$	91	93	47	Lucius Æbutius. Publius Servilius Priscus.
460	54	24	24	79 $\frac{4}{5}$	92	94	48	Lucius Læretius. Titus Veturius Geminus.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caen. æra.	Varron. æra.	Expul- sion.	CONSULS.
459	4255	725	125	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	293	295	49	Publius Volumnius. Servius Sulpicius Camerinus.
58	56	26	26	$\frac{2}{3}$	94	96	50	Publius Valerius Poplicola II. Caius Claudius Sabinus.
57	57	27	27	$\frac{3}{4}$	95	97	51	Quintus Fabius Vibulanus III. Lucius Cornelius.
56	58	28	28	80 $\frac{4}{1}$	96	98	52	Caius Nautius II. Lucius Minucius.
55	59	29	29	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	97	99	53	Caius Horatius. Quintus Minucius.
54	4260	730	130	$\frac{2}{3}$	98	300	54	Marcus Valerius. Spurius Virginus.
53	61	31	31	$\frac{3}{4}$	99	1	55	Titus Romilius. Caius Veturius.
52	62	32	32	81 $\frac{4}{1}$	300	2	56	Spurius Tarpeius. Aulus Aterius.
51	63	33	33	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	57	Publius Horatius. Sextus Quintilius.
450	64	34	34	$\frac{2}{3}$	2	4	58	Caius Menenius. Publius Sestius.
								The FIRST DECEMVIRS.
49	65	35	35	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5	59	Appius Claudius. Titus Genucius. Publius Sestius. Spurius Postumius. Servius Sulpicius. Aulus Manlius. Titus Romilius. Caius Julius. Titus Veturius. Publius Horatius.
								The SECOND DECEMVIRS.
48	66	36	36	82 $\frac{4}{1}$	4	6	60	Appius Claudius. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. Marcus Cornelius. Marcus Sergius. Lucius Minucius. Titus Antonius. Manius Rabuleius. Quintus Poetilius. Cæso Duillius. Spurius Oppius.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.	Expul- sion.	The THIRD DECEMVIRS.
447	4267	737	137	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	305	307	61	Appius Claudius, and the same col- legues.
								CONSULS.
46	68	38	38	$\frac{2}{3}$	6	*	62 Varro. 61	Lucius Valerius Potitus. Marcus Horatius Barbatus.
45	69	39	39	$\frac{3}{4}$	7	8	63 Varro. 62	Larus Herminius. Titus Verginius.
44	4270	740	140	$\frac{83}{84}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	8	9	64 Varro. 63	Marcus Geganius Macerinus. Caius Julius.
43	71	41	41	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	310	65 Varro. 64	Titus Quintius Capitolinus IV. Agrippa Furius. [both from Livy.]
42	72	42	42	$\frac{2}{3}$	310	11	66 Varro. 65	Marcus Genucius. Caius Curtius.
								CONSULAR TRIBUNES
41	73	43	43	$\frac{3}{4}$	11	12	67 Varro. 66	Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. Lucius Atilius Longus. Titus Clælius Siculus.
								CONSULS.
440	74	44	44	$\frac{84}{85}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	12	13	68 Varro. 67	Marcus Geganius Macerinus II. Titus Quintius Capitolinus V.

The Remains of Dionysius end with these Consuls.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THOUGH no friend to the discourses usually employed in the prefaces to histories, yet I am obliged to speak of myself: In doing which I shall neither dwell too long on my own praise, which I know would be

ANNOTATIONS on the First Book.

¹·Της ειωθόλης αποδιδόθαι τοις προοιμίοις λογος. This first period has occasioned great difficulty; and, consequently, great diversity of opinions both in the translators and commentators. Henry Stephens, as we call him, who was a man of great parts as well as great learning (which qualities are not always such inseparable companions as they may be thought) contends that we ought to read εν τοις προοιμίοις, because, says he, it is too hard an expression to say λογοι αποδιδόθαι τοις προοιμίοις, as if the historian was to give an account

to the preface of his history; when, on the other side, the preface itself is the thing, that gives the account. This is confining the sense of the word αποδιδοναι to a single signification; whereas it is capable of many, and, particularly, of That, which our author has given to it in this passage. Plato has taken it in the same sense, where he says, ^aΚαι ομολογεμεν μη παρὰ φύσιν ειναι ταις των φυλακων γυναιξι μυσικην τε και γυμνασικην ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ. I agree, indeed, with him that ηκισα βελομενος should be understood as if

^a Plato B. v. Περι πολιτ. p. 654. Edit. of Marfil.

disagreeable to the reader, neither shall I censure other historians,² as Anaxilaus and Theopompus have done in the prefaces to their histories; but shall only shew the reasons, that induced me to undertake this work, and give an account of the means, by which I was furnished with the knowledge

the author had said *καίπερ ἤκιστα βελο-
μενος*; but I cannot agree with him in joining *της εἰωθῆσας λογης* with *εἰπεν*, because I often find *βελομαι* governing an accusative case in the best authors, and applied in the same sense our author uses it upon this occasion: Thus, Thucydides uses the word in giving an account of the unfortunate expedition of the Athenians to Sicily under Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, *ἔκ ἐδεχοντο* (*ἐνησαν γὰρ ἀνιόντες ἀνδρες τὰ Συρακυσίων ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ*) *ἐκομιθῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Τηριαν πόλιν*.

² *Ὡςπερ Ἀναξίλαος καὶ Θεοπόμπος ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐποίησαν*. As to the first of these historians, I can find nothing relating to him, that is worth mentioning. The other was an historian of great merit, and treated as such by many ancient authors both Greek and Latin, particularly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself in his letter to Cn. Pompeius; in which he gives the character of the most celebrated historians; and, among the rest, of Theopompus, “who, he says, “was the most illustrious of all the “scholars of Isocrates; and, after “enumerating the many advantages “he had of being well informed of “what he writ, he says, that the “greatest characteristic of his writing, “and That, in which he was more

“exact than all the other historians, “either ancient or modern, was this, “that he observed, and related, not “only those things, that were observ- “able by others, but, also, searched “into the hidden motives both of the “actions, and of the actors, and into “the passions of the soul, which are “not easily discovered by the gene- “rality of mankind; and that he “unfolded all the mysteries both of “seeming virtue, and of latent vice.”

It is no wonder that so free a searcher into the springs of Philip's policy, whose affairs were the subject of one of his histories, and with whom he was cotemporary, should pass for a censorious writer. But the truth is, that the iniquitous designs of Philip to enslave Greece; the corrupt methods, made use of by him to accomplish that design; the disorders of his court; his personal prostitution to every vice, sometimes, through intemperance, and sometimes, through policy, were so flagrant, that a naked relation of all these excesses might make his history appear a satire. This Philippic history of Theopompus contained fifty eight books, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, who says that five of them were suspected not to be genuine. *Ἐγγράφε (Θεοπόμπος) βιβλῆς οὐκ ὡς πρὸς ταῖς πενή-
κοντα, ἐξ ὧν πέντε διαφωρῶσι*.

^b Thucyd. B. vi. c. 50.

^c Diod. Sic. B. xvi. p. 511. Edit. of Steph.

of those things, I am going to relate. For I am of the opinion that all, who propose to leave such monuments of their minds to posterity, as time shall not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and, particularly, those, who write histories, which we look upon as the repositories of truth, ³ the source both of prudence and wisdom, ought, first of all, to make choice of worthy and grand subjects, and such as are of great utility to their readers; then, with great care and pains, provide themselves with proper materials. For those, who build their histories upon subjects inglorious, wicked, or of no importance, either fond of being known, and of getting a name of any kind, or desirous to display the abundance of their oratory, ⁴ are neither known by posterity to their advantage, or commended for their eloquence, leaving this opinion in the minds of all, who are conversant with their histories, that their lives, and their writings were of a piece; since it is a just, and a general observation, that the works of an author are the images of his mind. There are others, who make choice indeed of the best subjects; but, by founding their relations upon common reports through precipitancy and carelessness, lose

³ Αρχὴν φρονήσεως τε καὶ σοφίας ἔσαν. Le Jay has left out this fine observation in his paraphrase on this passage. The other French translator has not left it out in his.

⁴ Οὐτε τῆς γνώσεως ζηλεῖναι παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις. Both the French translators have applied ζηλεῖναι in this place to *imitation* and *emulation*, which is, no doubt, one sense of the word, but

not the sense it bears here, where it plainly implies *admiration*, *praise*; and, in this sense, it agrees very well with what goes before: These men, says our author, are fond of being known, and they are so, but it is to their disadvantage. And thus Suidas explains the word ζηλῶλος. μακαρίζος. ἐπαινέλος.

the merit of that choice. ⁵For we do not allow the histories of renowned cities, and of men who have governed nations, to be written in a hasty, and negligent manner. As therefore I am convinced that these considerations are necessary to, and ought first to be regarded by, historians, and, as I have taken great care to observe them both, I would neither omit the mention of them, nor ⁶give it any other place than in the preface to this work.

II. That I have made choice of a subject, worthy, grand, and useful, will be readily granted by all, who are not utterly unacquainted with ⁷general history: For, if any one, who has considered the ancient empires both of cities and of nations, as delivered down to us by history, and, after that, in surveying them severally, and comparing them together, desires to be satisfied which of them obtained the most extensive dominion, and, both in peace and war, performed the most glaring achievements, he will find the empire of the Romans to have far exceeded all those that preceded it, not only in the extent of their dominion, and in the splendor of their actions (⁸which no history has hitherto

⁵. Οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῦμεν ἀνολοχέδους, etc. I am sensible that the general signification of the word ἀνολοχέδιος is *extemporary*: but, as it, also, signifies *sudden, hasty*, I have chosen to give it this sense, because it agrees better with εἰκη, which our author had employed, just before, to signify the same thing.

⁶. Καταχωρεῖσαι. I have followed the common editions in reading καταχωρεῖσαι rather than καταχωρεῖσαι with the Vati-

can manuscript; the first being an active verb, and signifying *to place, to dispose*; and the other, if there is such a word, a neuter, in which sense it can have nothing to do here.

⁷. Τῆς κοινῆς ἱστορίας. Casaubon very well observes, upon this place, that κοινὴ ἱστορία signifies καθολικὴ ἱστορία, in opposition to τῇ τῶν κατὰ μέρος συντάξει.

⁸. Ὡς ἔπω κεκοσμήκε λόγος ἔδεις ἀξίως, *Que personne jusqu'ici n'a vantées comme*
worthily

worthily celebrated) but also in the length of time, that has handed it down to our days: For the empire of the Assyrians,

elles le meritent in Le Jay, is, by much, too vain a translation of the word *νοσμεν*: The other French translator has translated, or, rather, paraphrased this passage with more modesty, *Qu'aucun auteur n'a traitées jusqu'ici avec toute la dignité, et toute l'éloquence qu'elles demandent*. When I read this expression in our author, I cannot help being surprised at his censuring, at one dash, all the writers of the Roman history; particularly, if, as it is generally thought, Livy's history appeared before his. For, if ever an historian had the talent of *adorning* the actions he relates, I really think that Livy possessed it in the highest degree. For this reason, Caligula, that mad emperor, whose sayings, though destitute of reason, were not destitute of the appearance of it, called Livy *verbosum in historiâ*^d. However, I have great reason to think that Livy's history did not make its appearance in the world so early as the consulship of Claudius Nero, and Calpurnius Piso, which was in the year of Rome 745, according to Cato. Vossius, I know, contends that Livy must have finished his history before the year 730^e; because he says, that, after Numa, the temple of Janus was twice shut, once, in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the end of the first Punic war; and, the second time, by Augustus, after the battle of Actium.^f *Bis deinde post Numae regnum (Janus) clausus fuit: semel, Tito Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum*

bellum; iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terrâ marique partâ. Vossius goes on, and says, It is well known that the temple of Janus was shut a second time, by Augustus in the year 730; and, also, a third time, by the same emperor, the following year; and, says he, What can be plainer, when Livy says That temple was shut, *but once*, in his time, that he writ those words, before it was shut the second, and third time? I will not quarrel with Vossius for making Livy say more than he does, in order to favour his argument: Livy does not say, *but once*, though, what he says, seems to imply it. This argument of Vossius proves, most certainly, that, when Livy writ those words, the temple of Janus had been only shut once by Augustus, but it is very far from proving that Livy finished his history before it had been shut, the second and third time. I find by ^g Dion Cassius that, after Caius Antistius had obtained a victory over the Astures and Cantabri (Augustus having left the command of the army to him by reason of his indisposition) the temple of Janus was shut by this emperor, for the second time, during his reign, which happened in the 729th year of Rome, Augustus being consul for the ninth time together with Marcus Silanus. Now, it is impossible that Livy could have finished his history before

^d Sueton. Life of Calig. c. 34.

^e B. liii. p. 589. Edit. Steph.

^f De Hist. Latin. B. i. c. 19.

^g Liv. B. i. c. 19.

ancient as it was, and running back as far as the fabulous times, spread itself no farther than over a small part of Asia. That of the Medes, who overthrew the Assyrian empire, and ⁹ attained still greater power, lasted not long, but was dissolved in the fourth generation: the Persians, indeed, after they had conquered the Medes, at last, became masters of almost all Asia; but, having also invaded the European nations, they did not ¹ prevail on many of them to submit

that year; since it, plainly, appears, by the epitome, that he extended it to the death of Drusus, which happened in the 744th year of Rome, Drusus himself and Crispinus being consuls. Nay, there are some authors, who carry his history even to the time of Tiberius, in the fourth year of whose reign he is said by Eusebius to have died in his 76th year^h. As the words quoted by Vossius out of Livy, are in his first book, it is very possible he might afterwards forget to alter them.

⁹ Μειζονα δυνασειαν περιβαλομενη. Περιβαλοντο. επεκλυσαντο. Suidas. I shall defer taking notice of the ancient empires, here mentioned by our author, till he has gone through them; as I shall, also, considering the sense he gives to the word γενεα, till I come to the place, where he applies it to the duration of the Roman empire.

¹⁰ Ου πολλα επηγαγοντο. Le Jay has translated this *qui subjuguèrent mesme une partie de l'Europe*; which is neither agreeable to the sense of the Greek word, nor to the fact, as it stands recorded in history. Επαγεσθαι signifies *to prevail on any one by money, promises*

or persuasion. Επαγομενα, εφολκα, η, απαληλκα. Hesychius. Επηγαγο. προσωκειωσατο. ιδιοποιησατο. Suidas. In this sense, it is, frequently, used, by Thucydides; particularly, in relation to the Acanthians who were *persuaded* by a speech of Brasidas to revolt from the Athenians, as the Boeotians had, before, been, by the Persians, to abandon the cause of the Greeks. The Acanthians, says Thucydidesⁱ, δια τε τα ΕΠΑΓΩΓΑ ειπειν τον Βρασιδαν, και περι τα καρπη φοβω εγνωσαν οι πλειεις αφισσασθαι Αθηναιων. I said that Le Jay's translation was not agreeable to the truth of history. For the Persians never made any conquests in Europe under Darius, the son of Hytaspes; they advanced no further than Marathon, where they were defeated by the Athenians, and Datis, their general, was slain. In their second expedition, when Xerxes commanded in person, they were far from making conquests in Europe. They were defeated at Salamis by sea, and at Plataea by land; and Xerxes himself was forced to fly into Asia with ignominy. But, if the Persians were unsuccessful in their

^h In Chronic.

ⁱ Thuc. B. iv. c. 88.

to their obedience, and continued not in power much above two hundred years. The Macedonian empire itself, which overthrew the Persian, and, in the extent of its dominion, exceeded all before it, did not flourish long, but, after Alexander's death, began to decline: For, being immediately divided into many kingdoms by his successors; and, after them, supporting itself to the second or third generation, it was weakened by its own hands, and, at last, destroyed by the Romans. But, even, the Macedonian empire did not subdue every country, and every sea. Of the wide-extended region of Libya, only that part, which borders upon Aegypt, obeyed their power; neither did they subdue all Europe, Thracia being the limits of their European conquests to the north, and the Adriatic to the west.

III. The most famous empires, therefore, we have any account of in history, "after they had arrived to so great a maturity and power, have mouldered away. As for the empire of the Greeks, it does not deserve to be compared

attempts to conquer Greece, they were not so in their attempts to corrupt it, as every one knows, who has read the Greek history. By their intrigues, they prevailed on the Boeotians, the Macedonians, and Thessalians to espouse their cause against the Greeks, in the expedition of Xerxes: and this is what our author means by *επηγαγοντο*, in translating which Sylburgius has been much more cautious than Le Jay; he has said *non multum processerunt*, which, though it is far from expressing the sense of the word, made use of by our author, shews, at least,

that he did not look upon this expression to carry with it any idea of a conquest. But, as bad as that translation of Sylburgius is, the other French translator has translated it literally: For he has said, *ils ne firent plus de grands progrès*.

¹¹ Τοσαυτην ακμην και ισχυν λαβεσαι. Intirely left out by Le Jay. His countryman has said very well *après être parvenus au degré de puissance que nous avons dit*; which, if it does not, absolutely, come up to the author's sense, is very near it.

to the former; since it was neither so extensive, nor its splendor so long-lived. ¹² For the Athenians were masters only of the maritime country during the space of sixty eight years, neither did their dominion extend even over all That, but only to the coasts of the Euxine and Pamphylian seas, when they were most powerful on that element. The Lacedaemonians, having the command of Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece, advanced their dominion as far as Macedon; but were deprived of their power by the Thebans, of which they had not been in possession quite thirty years. ¹³ But Rome is mistress of every country not inaccessible, or uninhabited; every sea owns her power, not only That within Hercules Pillars, but also the whole navigable ocean: She is the first, and the only state recorded in history, that ever made the east and west the boundaries of her empire. Neither has her dominion been of short duration, but more lasting than That of any other commonwealth or kingdom. For, the city was no sooner built, but she conquered many warlike nations, her neighbours, and still advanced, over-

¹² Αθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς μόνον ἡρξάν τῆς παραλίας. Le Jay has surpassed himself in translating this passage. He has said, *Les Atheniens n'ont été redoutable que sur la mer*. The other French translator has rendered it very properly.

¹³ Ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀπάσης μὲν ἀρχαίας, etc. Casaubon has a long note upon this passage, which Le Jay has translated without taking any notice of him, as he has many others from other commentators without giving his readers the least hint, to whom he was

beholden. Upon the whole, his notes are nothing else but one continued translation of the notes of other commentators. As to Casaubon's criticism upon this hyperbolical passage, all that I shall say in vindication of our author, is, that it was the style in vogue at Rome in his time, and many years after. Other authors, in speaking of the Roman power, have had the same flights, but few have expressed them so beautifully.

coming all opposition. These things happened during the course of seven hundred and forty five years from her foundation to the consulship of Claudius Nero, consul for the second time, and of Calpurnius Piso, who were chosen in the hundred and ninety third Olympiad. By the conquest of all Italy, she was emboldened to proceed even to universal empire; and, having driven the Carthaginians from off the sea, whose maritime strength was superior to That of all others; and subdued Macedon the most powerful nation, till that time, at land, no enemy being left either among the Greeks or Barbarians, she is mistress of the whole world; ¹⁴ and this is the seventh generation she has continued

¹⁴. Γενεαν ἑβδομην ἤδη τὴν ἐπ' ἐμῇ δια-
μενεῖ πᾶντος ἀρχαῖα τοῦτο. I shall, in
this note, consider the ancient em-
pires, mentioned by our author, and
give a short synopsis of them. The
Assyrian empire was founded by Ni-
nus, the son of Belus, and possessed
the Upper Asia during 520 years ^k.
As the foundation of this empire is
placed by the chronologers ^l in the
3447th year of the Julian period, that
is, 491 years before the first Olympiad,
our author, very properly, says that it
ran back into the fabulous times ^m,
which are computed from the Ogygian
flood, to the institution of the Olym-
piads, and comprehend 1020 years.
The Medes revolted from the Assy-
rians under Dejoces, who was succe-
eded by his son Phraortes, whose son,
Cyaxares, succeeded him ⁿ; and Asty-
ages, the son of the latter, succeeded

his father; during whose reign, the
empire of the Medes was dissolved by
Cyrus, *in the fourth generation*, as our
author says; by which, he plainly shews
in what sense he takes the word γενεα.
The beginning of the Persian empire
is, generally, computed from the tak-
ing of Babylon by Cyrus, which hap-
pened in the 4176th year of the Julian
period ^o. From that aera, to the year
Alexander made his triumphal entry
into the same city, which was the
4383^d of the same period ^p, there are
no more than 207 years; consequent-
ly, the empire of the Persians was of
no longer duration; which justifies
our author, in saying, that *it did not
continue much above two hundred years*.
In order to follow the computation of
our author, we must date the begin-
ning of the Macedonian empire from
the time she destroyed That of the

^k Herod. in Clio, c. 95. ^l Usher, p. 24.

^o Usher p. 81. ^p Id. p. 175.

^m Id. p. 7.

ⁿ Herod. in Clio, c. 107.

in possession of that dominion ; neither is there any nation, as I may say, that claims a share in her universal power, or

Persians, *την Περσων καθελυσαιχυν*, that is, from the abovementioned year of the Julian period 4383 ; and not from any of the Macedonian kings before Alexander, much less from Caranus, the founder of that kingdom. From that aera, to the year 4546 of the same period¹, in which Perseus, their last king, was defeated, and the Macedonian kingdom destroyed by Paulus Aemilius, there are found no more than 163 years ; out of which number, must be deducted the reigns of Alexander's generals (because our author says *μετ' ἐκείνους*) to the reign of Antigonus Gonatus, from whom there was a regular succession of kings from father to son down to Perseus, if we except Antigonus Δωσων, who was rather regent of the kingdom, during the minority of Philip, than king. Antigonus Gonatas, his son Demetrius, his grandson Philip, and his great-grandson Perseus, make three generations ; in the last of which, as our author says, the Macedonian empire was dissolved. As to the power of the Athenians over the maritime country, which our author says lasted 68 years, I shall not translate the note in Hudson, as M * * * has done, but date the beginning of that power, with Thucydides², from the recalling of Pausanias, whose arbitrary government had alienated the minds of the Allies from the Lacedaemonians, and thrown them into the arms of the Athenians. This happened in the 4240th year of the Julian period³ ; from whence, to the

battle of Aegos Potamos, in which the Athenian fleet was destroyed by Lyfander ; and which was fought in the 4309th year of the same period, there are 69 years, which agrees pretty well with the computation of our author. The Lacedaemonian power over all Greece must be dated from the abovementioned battle at Aegos Potamos. From thence, to the battle of Leuctra, in which they were utterly defeated, and stripped of that power by the Thebans under the command of Epaminondas. This battle was fought in the 4344th year of the Julian period⁴ ; and, from the battle of Aegos Potamos, to That of Leuctra, there are found 35 years, which make five years more than are assigned by our author, to the duration of their power. The only difficulty that remains, is to know what Dionysius means by *γενεαν ἑβδομην*, *the seventh generation*, during which he says, Rome had continued, in his time, mistress of the world. Dodwell has written a kind of dissertation upon this passage, which Le Jay has translated without taking any notice of Dodwell. The other French translator has acted with more candor, and mentioned his name. I agree with Dodwell that, by the word *γενεα*, Dionysius does not mean any determinate number of years, but a succession of princes, or of men ; but I cannot agree with him that Dionysius had a view, in speaking of these seven generations, to any succession of priests, or princes in the Julian family, which

¹ Usher, p. 321.

² Thucyd. B. i. c. 95.

³ Usher, p. 105.

⁴ Id. p. 147.

refuses obedience to it. But I need say no more to prove that I have not made choice, as I have said, of the least of subjects, or proposed to relate trivial, or obscure actions, but have undertaken the history both of the most illustrious state, and of the most shining achievements that can possibly be treated of.

IV. Before I proceed, I shall shew, in a few words, that it is not without design, and mature premeditation, that I

imaginary succession both the French translators have adopted. Whoever reads Dionysius must be convinced of his zeal for liberty, and his detestation of tyranny, which he never fails to shew upon all occasions, where his subject gives him any opportunity of declaring those sentiments: So that, I see no reason, why he should be accused of flattering either Caesar, who usurped the tyranny, or Augustus who continued that usurpation. I should sooner suspect him of drawing the picture of Caesar in the character of Spurius Cassius, who had been thrice consul, had obtained many victories, and, like Caesar, courted the people, in order to enslave them. Had these been as corrupt when Cassius attempted to seduce them, as they were virtuous, or as virtuous when Caesar made the same attempt, as they were corrupt, Cassius had succeeded, like Caesar, and Caesar, like Cassius, had received the punishment he deserved. Dionysius mentions the periods, which, in their order, preceded the uninterrupted possession of the universal power, the Romans enjoyed in his time, which was the seventh generation, they had

enjoyed it. The first of these periods was the conquest of all Italy; the second, the happy conclusion of the second Punic war, one of the conditions of the peace, granted to the Carthaginians by the Romans, being this, *that they should deliver up all their ships of war, but ten; Navis rostratas, praeter decem triremes, traderent*, says Livy^u; who has translated Polybius: Τα μακρὰ πλοῖα παραδόναι πέντε, πλὴν δεκά τριηρών^w, are the words of the latter: This article destroyed their maritime power. The third period was the conquest of Macedon by Aemilius Paulus, which happened, as I have said, in the 4546th year of the Julian period; from which, to the consulship of Tiberius Claudius Nero, for the second time, and of Cneius Calpurnius Piso, which fell out in the 745th year of Rome; and, in the 4707th of the Julian period^x, in which our author published his history, there will be found 161 years: During which period, if any reader pleases to run over the generations of his own family, he will find that, for the most part, six generations are elapsed, and the seventh begun.

^u Livy, B. xxx. c. 37.

^w Polyb. B. xv. p. 705. Edit. Casaub.

^x Usher, p. 595.

date my history from the earliest times; but, from good reasons, which I can produce to justify my conduct against the censure of those, who, fond of finding fault with every thing, and, as yet, unacquainted with the subject of this discourse, may blame me for this reason; that, Rome, being, at this time, grown famous, and her infancy so inglorious, and obscure, and so unworthy the notice of history, that it is but a few generations ago, and, since the overthrow of the Macedonian power, and the happy event of the Punic wars, that she has made any appearance, or gained a reputation; when I was at liberty to chuse some celebrated incidents in her history for my subject, I should deviate into one so barren of shining events, as the Roman Antiquities. For, to this day, almost all the Greeks are strangers to the ancient history of Rome, and the greatest part of them are imposed upon by some false opinions, grounded on common reports, and led to believe that the first founders of it were certain vagabonds without house or home, Barbarians, and, even these not freemen, whom chance, and the injustice of fortune, inconsiderately showering down her greatest favours upon the most unworthy, and not religion, justice, and every other virtue, have raised, in process of time, to the empire of the world: While those, who are more malicious, openly rail at fortune, for having conferred on the most abandoned of all Barbarians those blessings, which the Greeks had formerly enjoyed. But why should I mention others? when, even, some historians have dared to publish these things, contrary to justice, and the truth of history,

history, in favour of foreign kings, enemies to the Roman government, to whom they had fervilely devoted themselves, and whose passions they have, perpetually, flattered.

V. In order, therefore, to remove these false impressions from the minds ¹⁵ of my countrymen, and to substitute true ones in their room, I shall, in this book, shew of what nations the first founders of this city were composed, at what particular times, each of them assembled, and, by what turns of fortune, they left their respective countries: By this means, I engage to make it appear that they were Greeks, and came together from nations not the meanest, nor the least considerable. In the beginning of the next book, I shall enter upon the actions, they performed immediately after the building of the city; and give an account of their discipline, the observance of which raised their successors to so great power. In the execution of this design, I shall, as far as I am able, omit nothing worthy of history; to the end that I may infuse in the minds of those, who shall then be

¹⁵. Των πολίων. I have so great a respect for the memory of Casaubon, and Stephens, that I am always sorry when I am obliged to differ from them. They both contended that we ought to read των πολλων, instead of των πολίων. But the reason given by the last, to support this alteration, seems to me to prove the contrary: He says, that our author attributes these erroneous opinions τοις πολλοις, not τοις πολίταις: But, by οι πολλοι, he can mean none but the generality of the Greeks, his countrymen; since, immediately before, he says that almost all the Greeks

were unacquainted with the ancient history of Rome; and then adds, that the greatest part of them had been imposed upon by common reports: Neither can I understand why πολίται should be confined to the citizens of Halicarnassus, and not extended to all the Greeks; since the errors he undertakes to refute were common, as he says, to almost all of them, and not only to the citizens of Halicarnassus, which, though in Caria, was a Greek colony; and this might well justify Dionysius in calling all the Greeks his countrymen.

informed

informed of the truth, such an idea of this city, as may be adequate to its merit, if wild prejudice, and disaffection have not entirely exasperated them against it; and root out all indignation at a subjection grounded on reason, (for, by an universal, and unalterable law of nature, it is ordained that superiors shall govern their inferiors) and, at the same time, silence their complaints of fortune, as if she had wantonly bestowed upon an undeserving people an empire so great, and of so long a continuance; particularly, when they shall be convinced from this history, that Rome, even in her infancy, brought forth infinite examples of virtue, than which no city, either Greek, or Barbarian, ever produced greater for piety, justice, habitual temperance, and military accomplishments.

¹⁶ If these things are really so, I shall escape censure, which generally attends the promise of things unexpected and wonderful: Since all these men, who raised their country to so great power, are unknown to the Greeks, for want of worthy relators. For, no accurate history of the Romans, written in the Greek language, has, hitherto, appeared, but only summary accounts, and short epitomes.

¹⁶. Εἰ δὴ. Stephens and Casaubon would have us read εἰ γε: But, I find, by many of their alterations of the text, that they had never seen the Vatican manuscript, which has εἰ δὴ. This makes the text very clear without the necessity of altering ἀπεσαι into ἀπεσω. Every one knows that the figure, called by the grammarians, an ellipsis, is very common among the Attic writers.

Thus, Cyaxares, in Xenophon, sends an angry message to Cyrus to order him, or, at least, the Medes, who were with him, to return immediately; *καὶ νυν, εἰ μὲν Κυρος βελήλαι· εἰ δέ μὴ, ὑμεῖς γε τὴν ταχίστην παρέσσε*^γ: Where, after *βελήλαι, παρέσω* is understood; and here, after *εἰ δὴ, ταύτα εἰως ἔχει*, or something equivalent to it, must be supplied by the reader.

^γ Xenoph. B. iv. εἰ Κυροπαίδ. p. 288. Edit. of Hutchinsf.

VI. ¹⁷ Hieronymus Cardianus (the first author I know of upon this subject) has given a cursory account of the Roman Antiquities in his history of the Epigoni. After him, ¹⁸ Timaeus, the Sicilian, treated of antiquities in his universal history, and placed in a separate work, the wars of the Romans with Pyrrhus of Epirus. Besides these, ¹⁹ Antigonus, ²⁰ Polybius, Silenus, and innumerable other authors have

¹⁷. Ιερωνυμος Καρδιανος εν τη περι των Επιγονων πραγματεια. It plainly appears, by a note in Hudson on this passage, that the Epigoni, whose history was written by Hieronymus of Cardia, were not the generals, who divided the empire of Alexander, but their descendants. ² Hieronymus writ the wars of Alexander also, and was much esteemed by Eumenes his countryman, who made so great a figure after Alexander's death; by which, the age of this historian is certainly known.

¹⁸. Τιμαιος ο Σικελιωτης. ^a Diodorus Siculus gives great commendations to his countryman, Timaeus, for his exactness in chronology, and great learning; but, at the same time, says, he was, justly, accused for his censoriousness, which acquired him the name of Επιτιμαιος; which name, Athenaeus ^b tells us, was given him by Callimachus Ister. Suidas says, he was cotemporary with Agathocles; and, being banished by him, revenged himself by traducing the author of his banishment. The same writer says he was a disciple of Philiscus, the Milesian, and that he writ the transactions

of the Romans and Sicilians, and those of the Greeks and the latter.

¹⁹. Αντιγονος. I can find very little concerning this historian. The note in Hudson, which M * * * has translated, without saying from whence he had it, gives very little light with respect either to this author, or his writings. ^c Vossius, very justly, thinks this historian not to have been the same with Antigonus Carystius.

²⁰. Πολυβιος και Σιληνος. The first of these historians is so well known, and so deservedly admired, that I need say nothing concerning him. In another note, which M * * * has also translated, we are told, that ^d Cicero says Silenus writ the history of Hannibal with great exactness, and that ^e Livy quotes him. Both which, upon turning to the places in those authors, I find to be so. But there is one thing worth observing, which is not taken notice of in that note, nor any where else that I know of. Cicero, a little after, says that Silenus, whom Coelius follows, gives an account of a very remarkable dream of Hannibal, which I am far from mentioning for the sake of the dream, but to shew that Livy

^a Suidas. Diod. Sic. B. xix. p. 695.

^c De Hist. Graec. B. i. c. 12.

^a Diod. Sic. B. v. p. 198.

^d Cic. of Div. B. i. c. 24.

^b Athen. B. vi. c. 20.

^e Liv. B. xxvi. c. 49.

attempted

attempted the same subject, though in a different manner; each of whom has written some few things concerning the Romans, which they have compiled from common reports, without any diligence, or accuracy. Like to these, in all respects, are the histories, which some Romans also have published in Greek concerning the ancient transactions of their own nation: Of whom the most ancient are ²¹Quinctus Fabius, and Lucius Cincius, who both flourished during the Punic wars: Each of these has related the actions, at which he himself was present, with great exactness, as being well acquainted with them; but given a summary account of

took the same relation from Silenus, though he has not mentioned him. Hannibal dreamed, it seems, that the gods had given him a guide to conduct him into Italy, and that this guide commanded him not to look back: But Hannibal could not govern his curiosity; and, upon looking back, saw a vast monster with serpents twining round it, which, in its march, overturned trees, shrubs, and houses. And, when Hannibal admired what this might be, he was told by his guide, that it was the desolation of Italy; and that he should go forward, without troubling himself with what was doing behind him. *Vastitatem Italiae esse: precepisseque ut pergeret protinus: quid retro, atque a tergo fieret, ne laboraret.* This story Livy relates, though with greater pomp than Cicero, and closes it in this manner: ^f*Vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire, nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata in occulto esse.*

^{21.} Κοῖνλος Φαβιος και Λευκιος Κινκιος. The first was the grandson of Caius Fabius, who painted the temple of Salus, and obtained the name of *Pictor* ^g. Quinctus Fabius lived in the time of the second Punic war, of which he writ the transactions, and is called *Scriptorum antiquissimus* by ^hLivy. He was sent by the senate to ⁱDelphi to consult that oracle, concerning the means to be taken by the Romans to put a stop to their misfortunes. Lucius Cincius Alimentus lived at the same time, and treated the same subject. We find by ^kLivy that he mentioned many particulars relating to the second Punic war, which he had learned from Hannibal while he was his prisoner. He is there honoured by Livy with the title of *maximus auctor*. It appears plainly, from this passage in our author, that both these Roman historians writ in Greek.

^f Livy, B. xxi. c. 22.

^g Pliny, B. xxxv. c. 4.

^h Livy, B. xxii. c. 7. id. B. i. c. 42.

ⁱ Appian in Hanibalic.

^k Livy, B. xxi. c. 38.

those

those early events, that happened soon after the building of the city. For these reasons, therefore, I have determined not to pass over that beautiful part of the Roman history, which the ancient authors have disregarded; and from which, if accurately treated, will result two things, that, of all others, are the most advantageous, and the most just: Those brave men, who have fulfilled their destiny, will gain immortal glory, and be extolled by their posterity, (both which render human nature like to the divine, and prevent their actions from perishing together with their bodies;) and the present and future race of those ²² godlike men, when they consider that all, who are sprung from an illustrious origin, ought to set a value on themselves, and pursue nothing unworthy of their ancestors, will tread the paths of the most generous, and most virtuous ambition, rather than lead a life of pleasure and ease; and I, who have not undertaken this work for the sake of flattery, but of truth and justice, (which ought to be the aim of all history) shall, in the first place, have an opportunity of expressing my benevolence to all good men, and to those, who ²³ take a pleasure in the con-

²². ἱσοθεῶν ἀνδρῶν. Our author here is so far transported with his admiration of the ancient Romans, as to dare to call them godlike men, and to talk of the human nature being rendered like to the divine. These impious strains have been copied from the heathen, by the christian, writers; and, by these, rendered still more impious: For there is certainly more impiety in comparing men to the true God, than to false ones. Whenever,

therefore, any thing of this kind shall, hereafter, occur, I desire the reader will look upon me as a translator of another's thoughts, not a publisher of my own.

²³. Φιλοθεωρεῖς τῶν καλῶν ἐργῶν καὶ μεγάλων. Le Jay has translated this in a very extraordinary manner; *qui se piquent de belles lettres*. The other French translator has said much better; *qui veulent s'instruire des belles actions et des grandes choses*.

fideration of great and worthy actions ; and, after that, of making the most grateful return I am able, to the city of Rome for the instructions I have received, and the other advantages I have enjoyed during my abode here.

VII. Having thus given an account of the design of this work, I shall now say something concerning the materials I provided myself with before I began it: For it is possible that those, who have read Hieronymus, Timaeus, Polybius, or any of the historians, whom I have, just now, accused of abbreviating history, not finding in those authors, many things mentioned by me, will suspect that I have recourse to invention, and inquire how I came by the knowledge of those particulars. Lest any one, therefore, should entertain this opinion of me, I think it proper to acquaint them with the relations, and records, I have made use of. I came into Italy, ²⁴ immediately, after Augustus Caesar had put an end

²⁴ Αμα τῷ καὶ αὐθιγα τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξοδῆς καὶ οὐδοκοσίας καὶ ἐκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος μεσσησῆς. Many things are to be taken notice of in this passage, in order to make it clear to the reader. The year our author came to Italy, must have been the 724th of Rome, and the beginning of the third year of the 187th Olympiad. This æra is remarkable for the death of Antony and Cleopatra, the conquest of Aegypt, and the end of the civil war, which happened in the month of August that year, as the decree of the senate, passed upon that occasion, plainly shews^k. But the

month of August was, then, called by its old name, *Sextilis*, and Caesar Octavianus was not called Augustus, when he conquered Aegypt, and put an end to the civil war^l. This year, Octavianus himself was consul for the fourth time, and his colleague for this part of the year was Marcus Tullius Cicero^m, son to the great Roman orator ; who, being left at Rome, while Caesar was employed in Aegypt, received the letters of his colleague concerning the death of Antony, and the happy event of the Alexandrine war ; and, after reading those letters in the rostrum, ordered a copy of them to be

^k Macrob. Sat. B. i. c. 12.

^l Dion. Cass. B. li. p. 523.

^m Plutarch, Life of Cicero.

to the civil war, in the middle of the hundred and eighty seventh olympiad; and, having from that time, to this present, that is, twenty two years, lived at Rome, learned the Roman language, and acquainted myself with their writings, I employed all that interval in preparing materials for this work; and some things I received from men of the greatest consideration among them for learning, whose conversation I used; and others I gathered from histories, written by the most approved Roman authors; such as ²⁵ Porcius Cato,

fixed up there, in the same place, where Antony had, so cruelly, made a spectacle of his father's head. This was much taken notice of at that time. I said that Caesar had not the title of Augustus, when he reduced Aegypt: But, as it was given to him in 727, long before our author finished his history, and, probably, before he began it, there is no room to be surprised that Dionysius should give him that title upon this occasion. Caesar, it seems, three years after the reduction of Aegypt, he himself being consul for the seventh time, and Agrippa for the third time, pretended to resign his illegal power to the senate and people of Rome, from whom he had usurped it. To which purpose, he makes a long speech, in Dion. Cassius ⁿ, to the senate, who, certainly, never believed a tittle of it. However, they repaid his dissimulation with the title of Augustus.

²⁵ Πορκίος τε Κάλων, και Φαβίος Μάξιμος, etc. The first is known by the name of the Censor, to which dignity

he arrived after having passed through all the great offices of the commonwealth. There scarce ever was a man, who came into the world with greater parts, or cultivated those parts with greater application; a great general, a great orator, and a great historian, and, above all, the most virtuous man of the most virtuous commonwealth. Among his other accomplishments, he understood agriculture perfectly, which is a qualification, that will, always, be highly esteemed by a wise people. ^o Vossius supposes this Fabius Maximus not to be the same person ^p Cicero speaks of, when he says, *Ser. Fabius Pictor, et juris, et literarum, et antiquitatis bene pertius*, but Q. Fabius Servilianus. Valerius Antias is often mentioned by the Roman authors, as a writer of annals, and said by Velleius Paterculus ^q, to have been cotemporary with Sisenna, another Roman historian, with whom ^r Cicero, if there is no mistake in the text, says Licinius Macer, a writer of annals also, lived in friendship. There were many

ⁿ Dion. Cass. B. liii. p. 581.

^q B. ii. c. 5.

^o Vossius in hist. Lat. B. i. c. 3.

^r De Leg. B. i. c. 2.

^p Cicero in Bruto, c. 21.

Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the Aelii, Gellii, and Calpurnii, and several others of good note.

²⁶ Supported, therefore, by the authority of these histories, which are like the Greek annals, I undertook this work. So much concerning myself. It now remains, that I should, also, say something concerning the history itself; what compass of time I assign to it; what subjects I relate; and what form I give to the work.

VIII. I begin my history from the most ancient relations, which the historians before me have omitted, as a subject not to be cleared up without great difficulty; and bring it down ²⁷ to the beginning of the first Punic war,

Roman authors of the name of Tubero, one of whom Lucius Aelius Tubero^s, was an historian, and one of Quintus Cicero's^t legates in Asia. Sextus and Cnaeus Gellius were, also, annalists. Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi was consul the 620th year of Rome with Publius Mucius Scaevola, which was the year Tiberius Gracchus was slain; and censor the 633^d with Quinctus Caecilius Metellus: His history, or rather annals, are often quoted by the Roman authors^u. There was another Calpurnius Piso, who is said to have written of Marius; and, consequently, must have been a later historian than the former.

²⁶. Απ' αἰωνων ὀρμωμένος των πραγμάτων· εἰσι δὲ ταις Ἑλληνικαῖς χρονογραφίαις εἰκνται. Thus translated by Le Jay; *dont j'ay lû les ouvrages très conformes à ceux de nos Grecs*. So that, according

to him, the works of these Roman annalists are *very like* Those of Thucydides or Xenophon, or of any other Greek historian of the first class.

²⁷. Ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς πρώτης Φοινικικῆς πολέμου. The first Punic war, from whence Polybius dates his history, properly began in the consulship of Manius Valerius Maximus, and Manius Otacilius Crassus, when the Romans sent Appius Claudius at the head of an army to the relief of the Mamerines, who had possessed themselves of Messana^w. Appius not only relieved Messana, then besieged by Hiero king of Syracuse, and the Carthaginians, but defeated them both, and, after that, the Romans concluded a peace with Hiero: Though I am sensible that the first Punic war is, generally, supposed to have begun the succeeding year, when the consuls Lucius

^s Cicero to his brother, B. i. ep. 1.

^t Id. Verr. iv. c. 49.

^u Voss. Hist. Lat. B. i. c. 6.

^w Polybius, B. i. p. 11. et 16.

which

which broke out in the third year of the hundred and twenty eighth olympiad : I relate all the foreign wars the city was engaged in during that period, and all the seditions, with which she was agitated ; from what causes they flowed, and, by what measures, and, from what motives, they were appeased : I give an account, also, of all the forms of government she used, as well during the monarchy, as after its dissolution ; and what was the constitution of each : I enter into a detail of the best of all customs, and the most excellent of all laws ; and, in short, I shew the whole manner of living of the ancient Romans. As to the form I give to this work, it does not resemble That, which the authors, who make wars alone their object, have given to their histories ; nor That, which others, who treat of the several forms of government by themselves, have adopted ; neither is it like the chronological works, which ²⁸ the authors of the Athenian annals have published (for these, being uniform, soon grow tedious to the reader) ²⁹ but partakes of

Postumius, and Quinctus Mamilius were sent into Sicily to command the army. This year I find to have been the 445^{1st} of the Julian period^x, and not the 4449th, as M * * * has said ; and the 492^d of Rome, not the 487th, or the 489th, as he supposes : At least, it stands the 492^d, in the *Fasti consulares*.

²⁸. Οι τας Αθηνας πραγματευσαμενοι. If I were to translate the doubts contained in the latin annotation, as M * * * has done, I believe they would afford very little satisfaction to the reader.

^x Usher, p. 271.

All that I shall say, therefore, is, that I cannot discover the author of these *Athenian annals* ; and, if I could, I do not imagine the discovery would be of any great consequence.

²⁹. Αλλ' εξ ἀπασης ιδεας μικρον. There is great difficulty in this passage ; concerning which, I shall acquaint the reader with the critical observations of Henry Stephens, not as they are abstracted in Hudson's notes, and still more so in Those of M * * * ; but, as they stand in his Prolegomena ; and, then, add some observations of my own.

every

every kind; of the oratorical, speculative, and narrative; to the intent that I may afford satisfaction to those persons, who

Stephens contends, and, I think, very justly, that, in the period which precedes this, we should read *μονας* after *οι τας πολεμους αναγραφαντες*, in order to answer *πολιτειας αυτας εφ' εαυτων*, in the next sentence. He goes on, with the same strength of reason, and says that, after these words, *αλλ' εξ απασης ιδεας μικρον εναγωνισ τε και θεωρητικης*, some *third kind* of *ιδεα* is wanting; because our author says *εξ απασης ιδεας*, and not *εξ εκατερης ιδεας*, as he would have said, if he had mentioned but two sorts. This, he says, is further confirmed by our author's proposing not two, but three sorts of men, in whose favour he gave this form to his history: He adds, that all the translators have mistaken the sense of the word *εναγωνιος*, by applying it to a relation of wars, and contends that the *ιδεα εναγωνιος* relates to statesmen, as the *ιδεα θεωρητικη* regards philosophers; and that the third *ιδεα*, proposed in favour of the third sort of men, whom our author designs to gratify, meaning those, who make history an amusement, should be *ηδεια*, or something of that nature. Thus, I have laid before the reader, in as short, and as clear a manner as I am able, these truly judicious remarks of Stephens on this passage; and shall only add, that I find by a note of not quite two lines in Sylburgius, that the Venetian manuscript has *αγωνισμασι* instead of *αναγνωσμασι*, and that Lapeyre has followed this reading, and translated it *in historicis certaminibus*: However, Sylburgius has not

followed it himself, nor said any thing in his notes, to signify either his approbation, or disapprobation of it; neither has this reading been taken notice of by Hudson in his collation even of the Venetian manuscript; or followed by any translator either Latin, or French. But, I must own, I look upon this reading as the true one, and that it will conduce much to clear up this passage, which, otherwise, seems to me almost inexplicable. In order, therefore, to form a clear idea of our author's design in giving a mixed form to his history, and in chusing a form so mixed, as to give satisfaction to political orators, to philosophers, and to those, who read for amusement, we must observe that the *ιδεα εναγωνιος* is designed for the first, the *θεωρητικη* for the second, and what for the third? something must be wanting: Stephens supplies it by *ηδεια*: I should, rather, chuse *διηγηματικη*, which is a word, properly, adapted to history, narration being the soul of it, and a word used by our author himself, in his character of Thucydides². And what can be more entertaining to those, who read history, as they do romance, than a *relation* of battles, sieges, and all the other military operations, of which history furnishes so great a variety? This, in my opinion, will justify us in reading *αγωνισμασι*, with the Venetian manuscript, instead of *αναγνωσμασι*. If any one doubts of the sense I have given to the *ιδεα εναγωνιος*, let him read the critical works of our author, and

¹ Stephens Proleg. c. 12. ² C. 37.

desire to qualify themselves for political debates ; to such, as are engaged in philosophical speculations ; and to all, who propose no other end in the contemplation of military actions, than an undisturbed entertainment. These things, therefore, will be the subject of my history, and this the form of it. The author is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the son of Alexander ; and, from hence, I begin.

IX. THE most ancient possessors of the place, where this city, the mistress of the whole earth and sea, now stands, and which the Romans inhabit, are said to have been the barbarous ³⁰ Siceli, natives of the country. As to the condition of the place before their time, whether it was inhabited, or desert, none can certainly say. Afterwards, the Aborigines made themselves masters of it, having dispossessed the inhabitants after a long war : These people lived, before that, on the mountains, in villages without walls, and dis-

he will find instances without number of his using it in this sense. In speaking of Demosthenes, he says, ^a Εκ δὲ τῶν ἐναγωνίων αὐτῶν λόγων ὅποσοι πρὸς δικαστηρίῳ γεγονασί ἢ πρὸς ἐκκλησίας. The last thing I shall mention in this note, which I am afraid is, already, too long, is, that, by *philosophers*, for whose satisfaction he proposes the *ἰδέα θεωρητικὴ*, he does not mean either natural, or moral, but *political philosophers* : And, however unnatural this alliance may seem, yet our author, himself, says, that he writ a treatise (now lost) against those, who, unjustly, censured *political philosophy* ; ^b ἢν (πρὸς ἀγμάλειαν) συνέλεξαμην.

ὑπερ τῆς πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὴς κατὰρχούσας αὐτῆς ἀδικίας.

³⁰ Σικελοί. I do not wonder that the Latin translators call these people *Siculi* ; because That was the name they were known by among the Romans : But I wonder the French translators should call them *les Sicules*. However, Thucydides calls them Σικελοί, and tells us that, being driven out of Italy, they passed over into Sicily ; and, having overcome the Sicanians, who were then in possession of that island, they caused it to be called Σικελία^c, instead of Σικανία.

^a Περὶ Δημοστ. Δεινोट. c. 45.

^b Περὶ τῆς Θεκυδ. χαρακ. c. 2.

^c Thucyd. B. vi. c. 2.

perfed. But, after the Pelafgi, and fome other Greeks, mingling with them, affifted them in the war againft their neighbours, they drove the Siceli out of this place, walled in many towns, and contrived to make themfelves mafters of all the country, that lies between the³¹ Liris, and the Tiber: Thefe rivers fpring from the foot of the Apennine mountains, by which the whole length of Italy is divided; and, at the diftance of about eight hundred ftadia from one another, difcharge themfelves into the Tyrrhene Sea; the Tiber to the north, near the city of Oftia; and the Liris to the fouth, paffing by Minturnae: Both thefe cities are Roman colonies. This nation remained in the fame place, being never, from that time, driven out by any others; the³² fame people being

^{31.} Λιρίς και Τίβερις. Thefe two rivers were the boundaries of Latium, after the conquest of the Aequi, the Hernici, and the Volsci. The Liris is now called *il Garigliano*, and either ran through, or paffed by Minturnae, a very confiderable city. ^d Cluver fays that there are to be feen, on the left of the river, and about four Roman miles from the mouth of it, vaft ruins of aquaeducts, amphitheatres, and towers. Between Minturnae, and the fea, are the marfhes in which Marius endeavoured, in vain, to conceal himfelf. Minturnae, as our author fays, was a Roman colony, which was fent thither in the confulship of ^e Appius Claudius Caecus, for the fecond time, and of Quintus Volumnius Flamma, alfo, for the fecond time; which year appears by the *Fasti confulares* to have been the 458th of Rome. ^f Oftia was,

alfo, a Roman colony, fettled there by Ancus Marcius. All authors agree, that a ftadium contained 600 feet; but then it muft be remembered, that thefe are Greek feet: Now, Arbuthnot makes an Englifh foot to exceed a Greek foot by ,0875 decimals: So that, a ftadium contains 504 feet, four inches, and, 5 decimals, Englifh meafure.

^{32.} Ονομαζων αλλαγαις αυταις οι αυτοι ανθρωποι προςαγορευομενοι. Here is certainly fome error in the tranfcriber: Sylburgius thinks it may be corrected by reading *συχναις* inftead of *αυταις*. Hudfon prefers *ονομασιν αλλοις και αλλοις οι αυτοι*, etc. I would read the fentence thus; *ονομασιν αλλοις αλλοις οι αυτοι ανθρωποι προςαγορευομενοι*; becaufe our author tells us, in the very next fentence, that they were known by different names, at different periods.

^d Cluver Ital. Antiq. p. 1074.

^e Livy, B. x. c. 21.

^f Florus, B. i. c. 3.

called

called by different names, at different periods: Till the time of the Trojan war, they preserved their ancient name of Aborigines; but, under Latinus, their king, who reigned during that war, they began to be called Latines: And Romulus, having built a city after his own name, sixteen generations from the taking of Troy, they changed their name to That, which they now bear; and, in process of time, contrived to raise themselves from the smallest nation, to the greatest, and, from the most obscure, to the most illustrious, by their humane reception of those, who were destitute of a settlement; by a communication of the rights of citizens to all, who, after a brave resistance, had been conquered by them; by extending those rights to such, as had been manumitted among them; and by disdaining no condition of men, from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage: ³³ But, above all, by the constitution of

³³ Ὑπερ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, κόσμῳ τῶν πολίτευμαίος, ὃν ἐκ πολλῶν κατέστησαν τοῖς παθημαίων, ἐκ πάντος καίρε λαμβανούεις τι χρησιμὸν. Le Jay has translated this passage in a strange manner; *et sur tout de profiter avec adresse des bons et des mauvais succès pour maintenir par de sages loix la forme du gouvernement.* He was misled by Portus, who has translated it pretty much in the same manner. Sylburgius, and the other French translator, have rendered it much better. It is certainly a fine observation; and, I believe, a very just one, that the Romans made so good an use of their *sufferings*, as to improve their constitution by them.

Polybius, in speaking of the Romans, makes the same observation; ^ε δια δὲ πολλῶν ἀγωνῶν, καὶ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰετὸς ἐν ταῖς περιπέτειαις ἐπιγνώσεως αἰετὸς τοῦ βελτίου. Where, by the way, *πραγμάτια* signifies *difficulties*, as *παθημάτια*, in the passage before us, signifies *sufferings*; which are, most certainly, the best lessons, both in private, and in public life: *μαθημάτια*, *παθημάτια*, is a thought, which has been employed in all ages, and in all languages; and may, very possibly, be, originally, derived from ^h Herodotus, who makes Croesus, when a captive, say to Cyrus *τα δὲ μοι ΠΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑ Εὐρία ἀχαρίτια, ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ γέγονεε.*

^ε B. vi. p. 459.

^h Herodot. in Clío, c. 207.

their government, which they formed out of the various misfortunes, that befel them, extracting always something useful from every occurrence.

X. There are some, who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are, originally descended, were ³⁴ natives of Italy, a people sprung from no other; (for I call Italy, all that shore, which is furrounded by the Ionian and Tuscan gulphs; and, in the ³⁵ third place, by the Alps on the side

³⁴· Οἱ μὲν ἀυτοχθόνας Ἰταλίας. Le Jay has translated this in a manner equally bold, and unphilosophical; *Enfants de la terre mesme*: So that, the Aborigines sprung from the earth, like the animals mentioned by Diodorus Siculus to have been formed by the slime of the Nile. The other French translator has said *des naturels d'Italie*, which is as well as his language will allow: Ours is not at all happier in expressing ἀυτοχθόνας: The word *natives*, which I have used, because I know no better, will not explain it without some addition: For I look upon *naturels* in French, and *natives* in English, to signify no more than a people born in the country in opposition to foreigners. I even doubt whether *indigenae* in Latin signifies any more: When ¹ Lucan says of the Appennine — *piniferis amplexus rupibus omnes Indigenas Latii populos*, I think he means no more than the *natives* of Italy at that time: But ἀυτοχθόνας signifies a people who are not only born in a country, but whose ancestors, from time immemorial, always inhabited that country. Every body knows the Athenians pretended to be such a people.

³⁵· Καὶ τρεῖς περιέχουσιν ἐκ γῆς Ἀλπεῖς. Hudson tells us the Venetian manuscript has τρεῖς, which reading he favours, because ^k Zosimus mentions *three Alps*, viz. κοτῖαι, ποινιναι, μαρσίμαι. But Ptolomy mentions four, viz. τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν Ραίλιαν Ἀλπιοῖς ὄρεσι, καὶ ταῖς Ποινίαις, καὶ τῇ Οὐρᾷ, καὶ τῇ Καρραδῇ ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ Νωρικόν; by which, he says Italy was bounded to the north. So that, we may as well read four Alps upon the authority of Ptolomy, as three upon That of Zosimus. But there is a description of the bounds of Italy in Polybius, which our author seems to have had in his eye upon this occasion; and which, I believe, will put it out of all doubt that he writ τρεῖς, and not τρεῖς. Polybius says ¹ Τῆς δὲ πάσης Ἰταλίας τῷ γήματι τριγωνοειδὲς ὑπάρχουσης, τὴν μὲν μίαν ὀρίζει πλευρὰν αὐτῆς, τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κεκλιμένην, ὃς τε Ἰωνίος ποταμός, καὶ κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, ὃ κατὰ τὴν Ἀδριακὴν κόλπον· τὴν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ δυσμὰς τετραμμένην, τὸ Σικελικόν, καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πελάγος — Τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τὴν παρὰ τὰς ἀρκύς καὶ τὴν μεσογαίαν παρὰ τεινύσαν ὀρίζει κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, ἢ τῶν Ἀλπεων παρῶρα. Here, what our author

¹ Lucan, B. ii. v. 432.

^k B. vi.

¹ Polybius, B. ii. p. 102.

of the land) and these authors say that they were first called Aborigines from their having been the origin of their posterity ; as we should call them *γενάρχας* or *πρωτογονεις*. Others pretend that certain vagabonds without house or home, gathered together out of many places, met one another there by chance, and seated themselves in the fastnesses, living by robbery and feeding of cattle : For this reason, those, who are of this opinion, change their name also to one more suitable to their condition, calling them Aberrigines, to shew they were wanderers ; and, according to these, the Aborigines are in danger of being confounded with those, the ancients called ³⁶ Leleges : For this is the name they, generally, give to a vagabond and mixed people, who have no fixed abode they can call their country. Others give a fabulous account of their being a colony of those Ligures, who are near neighbours to the Umbri. For the Ligures inhabit many parts of Italy, and some of Gaul ; and, which of them is their native country is not known, since nothing certain is further said of them.

calls *τριται*, in the third place, Polybius calls *την δε λοιπην*, the remaining side of the triangle ; and, where our says *εκ γης*, Polybius says, *παρεα την μεσογαίαν παραλεινυσαν*.

³⁶. *Δη λεγω*. Stephens has, with great sagacity, substituted *Λελεγων* in the room of *δη λεγω*, which words signify nothing in this place. The Leleges are mentioned by Homer as a warlike nation, and to have been governed by Altes their king,

*Αλλεω, ος Λελεγεσσι φιλοπτολεμοισιν ανασσει
Πηδασον αιπηεσαν εχων επι Σαλνιοενι* ^m.

They were first settled in the Idaean gulph ; and, being driven from thence, they went into Caria, and lived in a city, called Pedasaⁿ, lying in the inland country of the Halicarnassenses. They, afterwards, engaged in a military expedition with the Carians, and were dispersed over all Greece, and their nation extinguished.

^m Iliad φ. γ. 87.

ⁿ Strabo, B. xiii. p. 909. Casaub. Edit.

XI. But the most learned of the Roman historians, among whom is Porcius Cato, who has collected, with the greatest care, the origins of the Italian cities; Caius Sempronius, and a great many others, say, they were Greeks; part of those, who, formerly, inhabited Achaia, and, many generations before the Trojan war, left that country: But they do not point out either the Greek nation, to which they belonged, the city, from which they removed, the time, when, the leader, under whom, or, from what turns of fortune, they left their mother country; and, founding their account on a Greek relation, they have quoted no Greek author to support it: It is therefore uncertain how the truth stands. If, what they say be true, ³⁷ they can be a colony of no other people, but

³⁷ ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΡΩ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΗΣΑΝ ΑΠΟΙΚΟΙ
ΓΕΝΕΣ, Η ΤΩ ΚΑΛΕΜΕΝΩ ΝΥΝ ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΩ. M***
has, upon this occasion, translated a
note of Ryckius, in which the latter
contends that Dionysius is mistaken,
when he asserts that the Aborigines
were a colony of the Arcadians. For,
says he, if the Aborigines were the first
inhabitants of Italy, it is not possible
that the Arcadians under Oenotrus
could be the same people with the
Aborigines; because it is proved by
Scripture that Italy was inhabited be-
fore the time of Oenotrus. This is,
properly, σκιαμαχαν, to raise shadows,
and then fight with them. I wonder
that neither Ryckius, nor his translator
should remember what Dionysius says
a few pages before, viz. that the Siceli
were the *original* inhabitants of that part
of Italy, where Rome was, afterwards,
built; and that they were driven out

of their country by the Aborigines as-
sisted by the Pelasgi. The *origines* of
Cato are so often quoted by the Latin
writers, and particularly, by Varro,
the most celebrated antiquary of his
time, that I should make no difficulty
to prefer the authority of Cato before
That of any modern writers, who are
deprived of the books, and, particu-
larly, of the records, which he, as
censor, must have had before him:
And we find that not only Cato, but
Sempronius, and many other Roman
historians affirm that the Aborigines
were Greeks, who, before their com-
ing into Italy, had lived in Achaia.
Ryckius has also discovered another
error in Dionysius, for asserting that
the Arcadians were the first Greek
colony, that came into Italy: Where-
as, he assures us from ° Pliny that the
Pelasgi came from Greece into Italy,

• Pliny, B. iii. c. 5.

of those, who are now called Arcadians : For these are the first of all the Greeks, who crossed the Ionian gulph under

before the Arcadians. I have looked into this place of Pliny, and all I can find there, is, that Pliny, in enumerating the ancient inhabitants of Latium, mentions, first, the Aborigines, then the Pelasgi, and, after them, the Arcades, the Siculi, the Aurunci, and the Rutili. This, I believe, the reader will think a very weak argument to urge against the authority of Dionysius ; particularly, since Pausanias says that the colony, ^p Oenotrus led into Italy, was the first sent out of Greece. Oenotrus was the youngest son of Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus ; and Pausanias makes Lycaon to have been cotemporary with Cecrops, who was so with Moses ; and Lycaon carried a colony of Saïtes, who were Egyptians, into ^q Attica, 65 years before Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. As to the other proof, drawn from Scripture to shew that Italy was inhabited before the arrival of Oenotrus ; this argument, I am sure, if it could be proved from thence, as I believe it cannot, is far from subverting the authority of Dionysius ; because, as I have shewn, he asserts the same thing. The only text in Scripture which can, by any contrivance, be tortured to signify the peopling of Italy, must be this : ^r *And the sons of Javan ; Elisbah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands ; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.* Of these four sons of Javan, Kittim is the person, whose posterity

are supposed to have peopled Italy. I call him Kittim with the English translation ; the Vulgate calls him Cethin, the Septuagint Κητιοι, and the Cotton manuscript Κητιοι ; in Hebrew, כְּתִים, which word, as it was, undoubtedly, written by Moses (if he writ in the Cananaean, commonly called, the Hebrew language) without points, or a Dagesh, may be either spelt Kitim, or Chetim, but I should rather write it Ketim. The authority, therefore, of this text is brought to prove that the posterity of this man, however he spelt his name, peopled Italy. This we cannot, possibly, believe without supposing, at the same time, that Italy was one of the *Isles* of the Gentiles. But, small mistakes in geography, I know, must not be regarded, when texts of Scripture are to be wrested in order to carry any favorite point. However, I think it may be proved from several texts of Scripture, that, by the descendants of Ketim, are meant the Macedonians, and not the Italians. I cannot put an end to this note, without taking notice of a mistake, which the Latin, and, consequently, the French translators, have fallen into, by rendering μυθος *a fable*. Every body knows that μυθος signifies *a fable* ; but it is often used for λογος, which must be the signification of it in this place, unless the translators have a mind to make our author destroy the authority of Cato, and of the other Roman historians, whom he quotes to support his system. That μυθος does often

^p In Arcad. c. 3.

^q Usher, p. 10.

^r Genesis, c. x. v. 4, 5.

Iapygia, which was the first part of Italy they made, settled there; and, from him, the inhabitants of these places were called Peucetians. But Oenotrus, with the greatest part of the army, came into another gulph, that washes the western coast of Italy, and which was then called the Ausonian gulph, from the Ausonians bordering on it: But, after the Tyrrhenians became masters at sea, it changed its name to That by which it is known at this day.

XII. And, finding there a large tract of land proper both for pasture and tillage, but, in a great measure, desert; nor, even That, which was inhabited, populous, he cleared some of it of the Barbarians; and built small cities contiguous to one another, according to the manner of habitation in use among the ancients: And all the country he possessed, which was very large, was called Oenotria; and all the people under his command, Oenotrians; which was the third time they changed their name. For, in the reign of Æzizus, they were called Æzii; when Lycaon succeeded to the command, Lycaonians; and, after Oenotrus led them into Italy, they were, for a while, called Oenotrians. What I say is supported by the testimony of ³⁹Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama, intituled Triptolemus: For he there introduces Ceres informing Trip-

ney to a man on foot. [†]Οἱ ἐπιχωριοὶ καὶ αὖ μὲν τὴν Σαλυντίνην καλεῖσι τὴν περὶ ἀκρὰν Ἰαπυγίαν, τὴν δὲ Καλαβρὴν ὑπερτάτης προσέβορον Πευκίῃσι εἰσι. I am confident their mistake arose from their not attending to the word ὑπερ.

^{39.} Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐν Τριπτόλεμῳ δρᾶματι. The Greek author of

the life of Sophocles, prefixed to his tragedies, says he writ one hundred and thirty, of which seventeen were thought not to be his. Seven only of all these tragedies remain: Among those that are lost, is the tragedy of Triptolemus, mentioned by our author upon this occasion.

[†] Strabo, B. vi. p. 425.

tolemus ⁴⁰ how large a tract of land he was to travel over, in order to sow the seeds she had given him ; for, taking notice, first, of the eastern part of Italy, which reaches from the cape Iapygia to the Sicilian streight, and, then, slightly mentioning Sicily on the opposite side, she returns again to the western part of Italy ; and runs over the most considerable nations, that inhabit this coast, beginning with the settlement of the Oenotrians. But I need only quote these Iambics, “ ⁴¹ These you will leave behind you : On “ your right, all Oenotria, the Tyrrhene gulph, and the “ Ligurian land will receive you.” And ⁴² Antiochus of Syracuse, a very old historian, in his account of the planting of Italy, enumerates the most ancient inhabitants, in ⁴³ the order, in which each of them possessed themselves of any part of it ; and says that the first, who are recorded in history

⁴⁰. Οσην χωραν αναγκασθησεται — διεξελθεν. Thus translated by le Jay ; *L'espace de terre qu'il avoit à labourer*. This is, indeed, improving upon the commands given by Ceres to Triptolemus. In Sophocles, we find she orders him to *travel* over Italy and Sicily : But, in le Jay, she commands him to *plough* them up. The other French translator has rendered it very properly.

⁴¹. Τα δ' ἐξοπιωθε. I have followed the pointing of Lapsus in translating these verses.

⁴². Αντιοχος ο Συρακυσσιος. This author flourished in the 90th olympiad^u, that is, about the year of Rome 336. He writ the history of Sicily in nine books.

⁴³. Ως· ἐκαστοι τι μέρος αυτης καλειχον. I do not think that either Portus, Sylburgius, or le Jay has translated this sentence properly. The first has said *quam partem*, the second *quae loca*, and le Jay *des lieux qu'ils ont occupez*. The point contended for by our author is to shew that the Oenotri were the *first* colony that came into Italy : This, he says, Antiochus of Syracuse asserts : And *ως*, visibly, relates to the order of time, in which each of these ancient inhabitants possessed themselves of some particular part of the country. The other French translator was aware of the difficulty, and has not translated this sentence at all.

^u Diod. Sicul. B. xii. p. 322.

to have inhabited that country, were the Oenotri: His words are these: "Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, has given this account of Italy, which is the most credible and certain, out of the ancient histories: That country, which is now called Italy, was formerly possessed by the Oenotri." Then, he relates in what manner they were governed, and that, in process of time, Italus came to be their king, from whom, changing their name, they were called Italians; that he was succeeded by Morges, from whom they were called Morgetes: And that Sicelus, being received as a guest by Morges, and, setting up for himself, divided the nation. After which he adds this, "Thus were the Oenotri called Siceli, Morgetes, and Italians."

XIII. Now, let us, also, shew how ⁴⁴ considerable a nation the Oenotri were from the testimony of ⁴⁵ Pherecydes,

⁴⁴ Καὶ το γένος ὅσον ἦν τῶ των Οἰνότρων ἀποδειξώμεν. The sense of the word ὅσον has been mistaken by all the translators, except Portus: Le Jay has not so much as attempted to translate this sentence; but has said in a loose manner; *Voyons ce qu'on doit penser des Oenotriens*. Sylburgius is not quite so loose; however, he has not rendered ὅσον. *Nunc genus quoque Oenotrorum declarabimus*. This has misled the other French translator, who has, visibly, translated him; *prouvons encore l'origine des Oenotriens*. But our author has already proved the origin of the Oenotri; and, now, goes on to shew the extent of the country, and the number of the cities they were masters of, that is, *how considerable* a people they were,

which is the force of the word ὅσον.

⁴⁵ Φερεκυδὴν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον γενεαλόγον ἔθενος δευτέρου. M*** says, upon this occasion, that Pherecydes lived about the time of Servius Tullius. But he confounds Pherecydes of Syrus, the Theologer, with Pherecydes, the Athenian, of whom our author speaks. The first flourished in the 59th olympiad; according to Diogenes Laertius, who has written his life: The other was born at Leros, in the 74th olympiad; and, living at Athens, was called an Athenian. He is named γενεαλόγος by Diogenes, for which he quotes Eratosthenes. Pherecydes writ the Athenian Antiquities in ten books, as Suidas says. He was about the same age with Herodotus.

Ἡ Ολυμπιάδ. αναγραφ.

the Athenian, another ancient historian, and a genealogist inferior to none: He thus expresses himself concerning the kings of Arcadia; “Lycaon was the son of Pelasgus and
 “Deianeira: This man married Cyllene, a Naïd nymph,
 “from whom the mountain Cyllene took its name:” Then, having given an account of their children, and what places each of them inhabited, he mentions Oenotrus and Peucetius, saying, thus: “And Oenotrus, from whom those,
 “who inhabit Italy, are called Oenotri; and Peucetius,
 “from whom those, who live near the Ionian gulph, are
 “called Peucetii.” These, therefore, are the accounts given by the ancient poets and ⁴⁶ historians, concerning the settlement and origin of the Oenotri; by whose authority, I am convinced that, if the Aborigines were, in reality, a Greek nation, according to the opinion of Cato, Sempronius, and many others, they were descendants of these Oenotri: For I find that the Pelasgi and ⁴⁷ Cretenses, and the other nations, that inhabited Italy, came thither afterwards; neither can I discover that any other colony, more ancient than this, came from Greece to the western parts of Europe. I am of opinion that the Oenotri made themselves masters of many other places in Italy, some of which were desert, and others ill inhabited; and that they

⁴⁶. Μυθολογικῶν. See the 37th annotation towards the end.

⁴⁷. Κρητικόν. This is one of the Greek colonies on the eastern side of Italy, which Helenus advises Aeneas to avoid;

—*cum Elamalis habitantur moenia Graiis.*
Hic et Naritii posuerunt moenia Locri,
Et Salentinos obsedit milite campos
Lyctius Idomeneus.*

* Virgil, Aeneid. iii. ♫ 398.

possessed

possessed themselves, also, of some part of the country belonging to the Umbri, and were called Aborigines from their dwelling on mountains (for the Arcadians are fond of such situations) in the same manner, as, at Athens, some are called ⁴⁸ Hyperacrii, and, others, Paralii. But, if any are, naturally, slow in giving credit to accounts of ancient transactions without examination, let them be so in believing them to be Ligures, Umbri, or any other Barbarians; and let them suspend their judgment till they have heard what remains, and, then, determine which opinion is, of all others, the most probable.

XIV. Of the cities, first inhabited by the Aborigines, few remain at this time; but, the greatest part of them, having been laid waste both by wars, and other destructive calamities, are abandoned. These cities were in the Reatine territory, not far from the Apennine mountain (as Terentius Varro writes in his Antiquities) the nearest being one day's journey from Rome; the most celebrated of which I shall give an account of after him. Palatium, five and twenty stadia distant from Reate, which city is still inhabited by the Romans near the

⁴⁸. Ως ὑπερακριῶς τινὰς, καὶ παραλίων Ἀθηναῖοι. There is a note of the Greek scholiast upon the following verse of Aristophanes in his wild, but witty comedy, called *Lysistrata*; which note Suidas has transcribed literally in explaining the word παραλίων. As this note will shew the origin of this division of the Athenians, some of whom were called *Diacrii* or *Hyperacrii*, inhabitants of the mountains, and others,

Paralii, or inhabitants of the sea coast, I shall, also, transcribe it; the verse in Aristophanes is as follows:

Ἀλλ' ἔδε Παραλίων ἑδεμῖα γυνὴ παρὰ.

Πανδίων διαδεξαμένος τὴν Κεκροπος βασιλείαν
προσκήσαμενος καὶ τὴν Μεγαρίδα, εὐεμε
τοῖς παυσὶν εἰς δ' μοῖρας· Αἰγεί μιν τὴν παρὰ
τὸ ἄστυ μέχρι Πυθίης· Παλάνῃ δὲ τὴν παρα-
λίαν· Λυκῇ δὲ τὴν Διακρίαν· Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν
Μεγαρίδα.

Quintian way. Trebula, distant from the same city about sixty stadia, and standing upon an easy ascent. Vefbola, at the same distance from Trebula⁴⁹. Suna, a famous city forty stadia from Vefbola, where there is a very ancient temple of Mars. Mephyla, about thirty stadia from Suna; of which the ruins, and the traces of the walls are to be seen. Orvium, forty stadia from Mephyla, a city inferior to none in that part of the country for fame and extent: For the foundations of the walls still appear, and some tombs of ancient magnificence; as well as the inclosures of burying places extending themselves on high terrasses: Here is an ancient temple of Minerva, seated on the top of the hill. At the distance of eighty stadia from Reate, on the Jurian way near the mountain Coritus, stood Corfula, lately destroyed: There, an island is to be seen, called Iffa, furrounded with a lake; which island is said to have been inhabited by the Aborigines, without any artificial fortification, the inhabitants relying, for their security, on the bogs of the lake,

⁴⁹• Των Κεραυνίων ὄρων πλησίον. I am intirely of ² Cluver's opinion that the transcribers set down the Ceraunian instead of others mentioned by our author: Since every body knows those mountains are in Epirus, opposite to Italy. Le Jay has, upon this occasion, translated two notes, one of Sylburgius, and the other of Portus: But neither of them give any light to this passage: Had I done so, I should have thought myself obliged to name Those from whom I took them. All the

commentators refer us to Cluver for the situation of these ancient towns of the Aborigines. But, upon looking into that great, and learned geographer, I find he is very uncertain concerning their situation, for which he gives this very good reason: That most of them lay in ruins at the time our author writ his history. I shall, therefore, not trouble the reader with the conjectures of various authors, concerning their names and situations.

² Cluver, It. Antiq. p. 684.

instead of walls. Near to Iffa, is Maruvium, at the end of the same lake, distant forty stadia from what they call *The seven waters*. Again, Batia, towards the Latin way, thirty stadia from Reate: Then, Tiora, which is called Matiena, forty. In this city, they say, there was a very old oracle of Mars; the manner of which was near the same with that oracle, fabled to have, formerly, been among the Dodonaeanes; only there, a pigeon was said to prophesy, sitting on a holy oak: But, among the Aborigines, a bird, sent from heaven, which they call *Picus*, a wood-pecker, and the Greeks *Δρυοκολαπίης*, appearing on a pillar of wood, did the same. Liffa, twenty four stadia from the last mentioned city, the metropolis of the Aborigines; which, formerly, the Sabines, from Amiterna, attacking it by night, surpris'd. Those, who surrvived the taking of the town, being received by the Reatines, when, after many attempts, they found themselves unable to retake it, they consecrated the country to the gods, as if it still had been their own, denouncing curses against those, who should, after that, enjoy the produce of it.

XV. Cutylia, a renowned city, seventy stadia from Reate, situated at the foot of a mountain; not far from which, is a lake of four acres, full of native waters, ever flowing, and, as they say, bottomless: This lake, as having something divine in it, the inhabitants of the country look upon as sacred to victory; and, surrounding it with an inclosure, lest any one should approach the water, they preserve it inaccessible; only, once a year, those, who are appointed by
their

religion, perform certain customary sacrifices on a little island in the lake: This island is near fifty feet diameter; and not more than one foot above the water: It is loose, and floats about, the wind, gently, wafting it from one place to another. There grows an herb in this island, like ⁵⁰ Burre-reed, as, also, certain small shrubs; a thing, which those, who are unacquainted with the works of nature, will hardly comprehend, and may be looked upon as a wonder inferior to none.

XVI. The Aborigines are said to have settled, first, in these places, after they had driven out the Umbri: And, making excursions from thence, they warred upon the Barbarians; but, particularly, upon the Siceli, their neighbours, in order to dispossess them of their lands. First, a body of young men, consecrated to the gods, consisting of a few, were sent out by their parents to seek a maintenance, according to a custom, which, I know, many Barbarians and Greeks have used. For, whenever the numbers of the inhabitants of any of their cities were so far increased, that the produce of their lands would, no longer, maintain them all, or the earth, injured by unseasonable changes of the weather, brought forth her fruits in less abundance than usual, or any other accident of that nature, either better or worse, introduced a necessity of lessening their numbers, they consecrated to some god all the men, who were born within a certain year; and, providing them with arms, sent them out of

⁵⁰. Βύρρον. This plant is called in English *Burre-reed*; in Norfolk, we call it *Gladden*. It is very common in marshy grounds.

their

their country : If this was done by way of thanksgiving for populoufness, or a victory in war, they, after the usual sacrifices, prosecuted their colony with benedictions : But, if the design of it was to pray a deliverance from those evils, which the divine anger had inflicted on them, they performed the same ceremony, but, with dejected looks, and begging forgiveness of the youth they sent away. Those, who departed, having, now, no longer, any country they could call their own, unless by favour, or force, they should gain another to receive them, looked upon the latter as their country. And the god, to whom they had been consecrated when they were sent out, seemed, generally, to assist them, and, beyond all human expectation, to prosper those colonies. In pursuance, therefore, of this custom, some of the Aborigines, also, at that time, their country growing very populous, (for they would not put any of their children to death, looking on this as the greatest of crimes) consecrated to some god the offspring of the year, and, when they were grown to be men, they sent them out. These, after they had left their country, were continually plundering the Siceli: And, as soon as they became masters of any places in the enemy's country, the rest of the Aborigines, also, who wanted lands, with greater security, now, attacked each of them their neighbours; and built several cities, some of which are inhabited, to this day, by the Antemnates, the Tellenenses, and the Ficulenses, who live near the mountains, called Corniculi, and by the Tiburtini, among whom a part of their city is, at this time, called Sicelion : And, of all their neighbours, they infested
the

the Siceli most. From these differences, there arose a general war between the two nations, more considerable than any of the former in Italy, which was drawn out to a great length.

XVII. Afterwards, some of the Pelasgi, who inhabited Theffaly, as it is, now, called, being obliged to leave their country, settled among the Aborigines; and these, with joint forces, made war upon the Siceli. It is possible the Aborigines might receive them from the hopes of their assistance, but I rather believe it was chiefly on account of their affinity. For the Pelasgi were, also, a Greek nation, anciently, of Peloponnesus: They were unfortunate in many things, but, particularly, in wandering much, and having no fixed abode. For they, first, lived in the neighbourhood of the Achaian Argos, as it is now called, being, in the opinion of many, natives of the country. They received their name, originally, from Pelasgus their king: Pelasgus was the son of Jupiter, as it is said, and of Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, who, as the fable says, was the first mortal woman Jupiter had knowledge of. In the sixth generation afterwards, leaving Peloponnesus, they came ⁵¹ into that country,

⁵¹ Εἰς τὴν τότε Αἰμονίαν, νυν δὲ Θετταλίαν καλεσμένην. Casaubon, in his notes upon Strabo, quotes some Greek verses of Rhianus, which explain the account given by our author of Theffaly, as well as That given of it by ^a Strabo; who says that Theffaly was called Pyrrhaea from Pyrrha, the wife of Deucalion; afterwards, Haemonia, from

Haemon; and, at last, Theffaly, from Theffalus, the son of Haemon. These verses the reader may not be displeased to find here:

Πυρραϊαν ποτε τήνγε παλαιότεροι καλεσκον
Πυρρῆς, Δευκαλίωνος ἀπ' ἀρχαίης ἀλοχοῖο·
Αἰμονίην δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφ' Αἰμόνος, ὃν ῥα Πελασγός·
Γεινῶτο, Φερίαλον υἱόν· ὃ δ' αὖτε κτὲ Θεσσαλὸν Αἰμῶν.
Τὴ δ' ἀπο Θεσσαλῶν λαοὶ μετέφθιμι ξαντοί.

^a Strabo, B. ix. p. 677.

which

which was, then, called Haemonia, and, now, Theſſalia: The leaders of the colony were Achaeus, Phthius, and Pelafgus the ſons of Lariffa, and Neptune. When they were arrived in Haemonia, they drove out the Barbarians, who were the inhabitants of it, and divided the country into three parts, calling them after the names of their commanders, Phthiotis Achaia, and Pelafgiotis. After they had remained there five generations, during which, they arrived to the greateſt proſperity, enjoying the moſt fertil plains in Theſſaly, in the ſixth generation, they were driven out of it by the Curetes, and Leleges, who are now called Aetoli, and Locri, and by many others, who inhabit the parts near Parnaffus, their enemies being commanded by Deucalion, the ſon of Prometheus, and of Clymene, the daughter of Oceanus.

XVIII. And, diſperſing themſelves in their flight, ⁵² ſome went into Crete; others poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome of the iſlands, called Cyclades; ſome inhabited the country, called Heſtiotis, near Olympus and Offa; others went into Boeotia, Phocis, and Euboea; ſome, transporting themſelves into

^{52.} Οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήνην ἀπῆλθον. etc. The different ſettlements of this wandering people are taken notice of by all geographers; eſpecially, by Homer, whoſe authority in geography is little inferior to That he has, ſo deſervedly, acquired in poetry. He mentions the Pelafgi in Crete,

ἐν δὲ Κυδωνίῃ,

Δοριεὺς τε τριχαιῖκες δῖοι τε Πελασγοὶ ^b.

He alſo takes notice of their inhabiting the plains of Theſſaly near Lariffa,

Ἰπποθόος δ' ἀγέφυλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχέσιμῶν
τῶν οἱ Λαρίσσαι ἐξέβωλκα ναϊτάσκον ^c.

^d Strabo, who quotes the authority of Homer, ſpeaks of their inhabiting thoſe countries, and many others; particularly, that they ſettled in the iſland of Lesbos, which, from them, was called Pelafgia. And, after ſhewing that they lived alſo at Athens, he ſays, the Athenians called them Πελαργεῖς, *Storks*, becauſe they wandered from one place to another,

^b Odyſ. τ. γ. 177.

^c Iliad. β. γ. 840.

^d B. v. p. 338.

Asia, became masters of many places on the sea coast near the Hellespont, and of many of the adjacent islands, particularly, of That, which is now called Lesbos, mingling with those, who composed the first colony, that was sent thither from Greece ⁵³ under Macar, the son of Ciraſius. ⁵⁴ But the

⁵³· Ἀγνός Μακάρος τῆς Κιρασίου. I cannot find whether this Macar was the son of Ciraſius, who, as Eusebius says, was the fifth king of the Argivi: But I find in Stephanus that he was the father of Erefus, from whom the city in Lesbos, so called, took its name.

⁵⁴· Το δε πλεον αυτων μέρος δια της μεσογειας τραπομενοι προς της εν Δωδωνη καλοικητας σφων συγγενεις. I shall not deprive the reader of the curious translation le Jay has exhibited of this passage. It is well known that Dodona was a city of the Molossi, a people of Epirus; and that Theſſaly, from whence the Pelasgi were driven by the Curetes, and Leleges, was separated from Epirus only by mount Pindus. So that, our author says, very properly, that the Pelasgi passed through the *midland country* to Dodona, δια της μεσογειας. This sentence le Jay has, unfortunately, rendered *par la Méditerranée*. It is scarce credible that a man, who taught rhetoric above twenty years in Clermont college, as he himself says, should be, so perfectly, unacquainted both with the Greek language, and with geography: But le Jay, it seems, was fond of navigation. I find, by the preface of M***, the other French translator, that the journalists of Trevoux, the capital of the

principality of Dombes, have employed all their eloquence to extol, and adorn this translation of le Jay: Which the reader will not be surpris'd at, when he is informed that both the translator, and the panegyrists are Jesuits; whose obstinacy in defending one another at all events, joined to an unrelenting hatred of all their opposers, puts me in mind of what Tacitus says of the Jews, *apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu; sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. However, I find that, notwithstanding these pompous panegyrics, the translation of le Jay has been censured in France in some critical letters, written, I presume, by the other French translator; and, among other errors objected to him, this affair of the *Mediterranean* was not forgotten. This produced an answer from the Jesuits, in which they acknowledge the *mistake*; but attribute it to an oversight in the correctors of the press, and say, that the translator had written *que ce nombre (des Pelasgues) vint par le pays Méditerrané, ou par la campagne Méditerranée, ou par la région Méditerranée*; and that the word *region*, for example, had been dropped by the correctors. The other replies that this answer will be allowable, if two things are granted: The first, that *le pays, la campagne, la région Medi-*

greatest part of them, passing through the midland country, took refuge among the inhabitants of Dodona, their relations (against whom, as a sacred people, none would make war) where they continued some time. But, finding themselves grow troublesome, and the country not being sufficient to support them all, they left it in obedience to an oracle, which commanded them to sail to Italy, then, called Saturnia: And, having prepared a great many ships, they passed the Ionian sea, endeavouring to reach the nearest parts of Italy. But, the wind being in the south, and they unacquainted with the coast, they were carried off to sea, and landed at one of the mouths of the Po, called ⁵⁵ Spines: In this place, they left their ships, and such of their people, as were least able to bear fatigue, placing a guard there, to the end that, if their affairs succeeded ill, they might be sure of a retreat: Those, who were left behind, surrounded their camp with a wall; and, bringing in plenty of provisions in their ships, when their affairs seemed to prosper, they built a city of the same name with the mouth of the river. These people arrived to a greater degree of prosperity than any others on

terranée is used in French to signify *le milieu des terres*; and the second, that it is probable the word *region*, *pays*, or *campagne*, should be dropped by the correctors of the press, and the translator say nothing of it among his *errata*.

By this abstract of the dispute, the reader will see that the attack was strong, and the defence weak; and

that le Jay's brethren had recourse to a mean subterfuge, in order to defend a most egregious blunder.

⁵⁵ Σπίνης. ^f Cluver shews this to have been the principal mouth of the Po, which he supposes to be the reason why it is called *Primaro* at this day. On the left side of it, stood Spina, once a considerable city.

^f Ital. Antiq. p. 134.

the Ionian coast; and, being masters at sea for a long time, they sent tenths to the god at Delphi, those arising from their gains at sea, being, in magnificence, inferior to none. But, afterwards, the Barbarians, in the neighbourhood, making war upon them in great numbers, they left the city (however, these Barbarians, in process of time, were driven out by the Romans) and that part of the Pelasgi, left at Spines, was, thus, destroyed.

XIX. Those, who bent their march through the midland country, crossing the mountainous part of Italy, arrived at the territory of the Umbri, which borders on That of the Aborigines: The Umbri inhabited a great many other parts of Italy, and were an exceeding great, and ancient people. At first, therefore, the Pelasgi made themselves masters of some of the lands belonging to the Umbri, where they, first, settled, and took some of their small towns: But, a great army being raised against them, they were terrified at the number of their enemies, and betook themselves to the country of the Aborigines: These, determining to treat them as enemies, presently, gathered together out of the adjacent towns, in order to drive them out of the country. The Pelasgi, who happened, at that time, to be incamped near Cotyle, a city of the Aborigines, hard by the Holy lake, observing the little island floating about in it; and, learning, from the captives they had taken in the fields, the name of the inhabitants, concluded ⁵⁶ they had accomplished the

⁵⁶ Τέλος εχεν σφισι το θεοπροπιον Jay, have rendered this as if σφισι related to θεοπροπιον, which the Greek oracle:

oracle : For That, which had been delivered to them in Dodona, and which Lucius Mamius, no obscure man, says, he himself, saw engraven, in ancient characters, upon one of the Tripods, standing in the temple of Jupiter, was in these terms ; ⁵⁷ “ Go in search of the Saturnian land, inhabited
“ by the Siceli, and of Cotyle, a city of the Abori-
“ gines, where there is a floating island ; then, mixing with

language will not bear : For, in that case, *δεδωμενον*, or something analogous to it, would have been inserted. But *τελος εχειν σφισι* is very elegant Greek to signify *that the oracle was accomplished with regard to them*. Sylburgius has said, *crediderunt finem jam habere suum oraculum* ; which is scarce Latin : However, it shews that he made the same mistake. The other French translator has rendered it very artfully, *ils crurent que l'oracle étoit accompli*. Thus, by leaving out *σφισι*, he has avoided the difficulty of connecting it with either. The reader will determine which translator takes most pains for his satisfaction ; he, who endeavours to explain difficulties, or he, who avoids them.

⁵⁷ Στεχεῖται μακρομενοὶ Σικελῶν Σαλγερῖαν αἶαν, etc. I wish our author had given us this inscription in the ancient characters, in which Mamius says, he saw it engraven on the tripod at Dodona : But I suppose Mamius himself did not copy the inscription in those characters. However that may be, it is certain that an inscription, engraved so many generations before the Trojan war, and exhibited in the characters then in use, would give great satisfaction to

the curious : For it must be allowed that this would be the most ancient inscription now in the world. But, whatever might be the characters, the oracle, or rather, the priests, at Dodona, delivered themselves in very good verse ; and, particularly, took care to be very explicit in their injunction to the Pelasgi to send the tenths to Apollo ; which shews the oracle to be genuine : For, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions concerning the meaning of other parts of this oracle, I observe, there is none concerning That. There is a passage in this book, in which our author tells us, that Hercules abolished this monstrous custom of sacrificing human victims, by directing the people to offer pageants to Saturn, instead of men. All authors agree that the Carthaginians, like the Tyrians, their ancestors, thought human sacrifices the most effectual to appease their angry deities. How strange a thing is it that any nation should be so infatuated by their religious prejudices, as to imagine that the sacrifice of their fellow-creatures, under the notion of a delegated atonement, could be an acceptable offering to their CREATOR !

“ them,

“ them, send a tenth to Phoebus, and heads to Jupiter,
 “ and, to his father, a man.”

XX. When the Pelasgi saw the Aborigines advancing with a numerous army, they met them unarmed with olive branches in their hands, and gave them an account of their fortunes, begging they would receive them in a friendly manner, and suffer them to cohabit with them; assuring them, at the same time, they would not be troublesome; since heaven, itself, led them into this country, as the only one, that agreed with the oracle, which they explained to them. When the Aborigines heard this, they resolved to obey the oracle; and, as they laboured under a war, they were, then, carrying on with the Siceli, to receive the assistance of these Greeks against the Barbarians, their enemies. To this purpose, they entered into an alliance with the Pelasgi, and granted to them such of their lands as lay near the Holy lake, of which the greatest part were marshy, and which, according to the ancient style of their language, are now called Felia: For it was the custom of the ancient Greeks, generally, to place before those words, that began with a vowel, the syllable γ , written with one letter: ⁵⁸ This was like a gamma, formed by two oblique lines joined to one upright line, as *Φελενη*, Felene, *Φαναξ*, Fanax, *Φοικος*, Foicus, and *Φανηρ*, Faner, and many such words. Afterwards, a considerable part of them, as the land was not sufficient to

⁵⁸. Τῷ δὲν ὡςπερ γαμμα, etc. I shall defer the consideration of this Aeolic letter, till I come to the place, where our author shews that the Ro-

man, and Greek characters were, originally, the same. See the forty first annotation on the fourth book.

support them all, prevailed on the Aborigines to join them in the expedition they proposed; and, making war upon the Umbri, they surpris'd Croton, a rich and large city; and made use of this city, as a fortress to annoy the Umbri, which was, sufficiently, fortified to defend them in time of war, and had many fertil pastures lying round it. They made themselves masters, also, of a great many other places, and, with great alacrity, assisted the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in against the Siceli, till they drove them out of their country: And the Pelasgi inhabited in common with the Aborigines many cities, some of which were, before, inhabited by the Siceli, and others they built themselves; of which number, is the city of the Caeretani, then, called Agylla, and Pisa, Saturnia, and Alfiou, and some others, of which they were, in process of time, dispossessed by the Tyrrhenians.

XXI. But Phalerium, and Fescennia are, to this day, inhabited by the Romans, and preserve some small remains of the Pelasgian nation; which cities, formerly, belonged to the Siceli. In these there remained, for a long time, many of the ancient institutions, formerly, in use among the Greeks, such as the ⁵⁹ fashion of their arms, Argolic bucklers, and spears; and, when they sent out an army beyond their con-

⁵⁹ Των ὅπλων των πολεμιστηριων κοσμος. All the translators, both Latin and French, have rendered this, *the ornaments of their arms*: Their reason was, I imagine, because κοσμος, sometimes, signifies *an ornament*. Had Dionysius designed to speak of the ornaments,

he would, no doubt, have shewn us what those ornaments were: Whereas, he mentions only the shape of these arms; calling the first an Argolic buckler, which every one knew, at least in his time, to be round; and this the Romans, who had made use
fines,

finer, either to begin a war, or to resist an invasion, certain holy men, unarmed, went before the rest, carrying with them the conditions of peace: Such, also, were the structure of their temples, ⁶⁰ the images of their gods, their purifications, and sacrifices, and many other things of the same nature. But, the most conspicuous monument, by which it appears that those men, who drove out the Siceli, formerly, lived at Argos, is the temple of Juno at Phalerium, built in the same form with That at Argos; where the manner of the ceremonies was the same; holy women served the temple, and ⁶¹ a girl unmarried, called Canephoros, *Basket-Bearer*, began the sacrifice, besides chorus's of virgins, who ⁶² hymned the goddesses in songs of their country. These people were, also, masters of a considerable part of those, they call, the Campanian plains, which afford a most pleasing prospect, and very fertile pasture, having driven the Aurunci, a barbarous nation, out of part of them. There they built

of this buckler, afterwards, changed for the ^g *Scutum*, which we find by all authors to have been of an oblong figure; as they, also, made use of the ^h *Pilum*, instead of the spear. If any one doubts whether the Argolic buckler was round, let him look into Virgil, who compares the only eye of Polyphemus, to an Argolic buckler, or the sun, which I presume retains still the same figure it had then:

telo lumen terebramus acuto

*Ingens, quod torvâ solum sub fronte latebat,
Argolici clypei, aut Phœbeae lampadis
instarⁱ.*

⁶⁰. Τα εδη των θεων. The translators have rendered τα εδη *chapels, altars, sanctuaries*. But, as εδος signifies also, *an image*, as may be seen in Julius Pollux, Hesychius, and others, I have chosen to translate it so; because the *chapels*, etc. seem to be included in the structure of the temples.

⁶¹. Αγνη γαμων παρς. Admirably; translated by le Jay; *une jeune vierge irreproachable dans ses mœurs*.

⁶². Τμνσων την θεον. The reader will forgive my translating this *hymning*, when he considers that Milton has used the word in his *Paradise lost*.

^g Livy, B. viii. c. 8.

^h Polyb. B. vi. p. 469.

ⁱ B. iii. §. 635.

several cities, particularly, ⁶³ Lariffa, giving to it the name of their metropolis in Peloponnesus. Some of these cities are standing even at this day, having often changed their inhabitants: But Lariffa has been long deserted, and shews, at present, no other sign of its ever having been a city, but the name, and, even, this is not, generally, known: It was not far from ⁶⁴ Forum Popilii. They were, also, masters of a great many other places, as well on the coast, as in the midland country, of which they had dispossessed the Siceli.

XXII. The Siceli, being warred upon both by the Pelasgi, and Aborigines, found themselves incapable of making resistance; and, taking with them their wives and children, and such of their effects as consisted in gold or silver, they quitted all their country to them: Then, bending their course southward, along the mountains, they marched through all the lower part of Italy; and, being driven from every place, they, at last, prepared rafts in the Streight; and, taking the advantage of an ⁶⁵ ebb-tide, passed over from Italy to the next island;

⁶³. Λαρισσα^k. Pausanias says that the citadel at Argos was called Lariffa, from Lariffa, the daughter of Pelasgus, from whom, also, two cities in Theffaly were called by the same name; which tends very much to confirm the account, given by our author, of the Pelasgi living in Theffaly.

⁶⁴. Αγορας Ποπιλιας. ¹ Cluver shews the name of this town to have been *Forum Popilii*, which, he says, is now called *Forlim populo*, but oftener, *Forli piccolo*.

⁶⁵. Φυλαξαντες καλιοντα τον ρην. I have called this an *ebb-tide*, though I am

sensible that there are no tides in the Mediterranean, as in the ocean: The reason of which may, possibly, be that the water in the Mediterranean being so much less in bulk than That of the ocean, it cannot resist the weight of the water in the latter; for which reason, this, always, runs into the Mediterranean with great violence at the Streights of Gibraltar, not to mention the water, that comes in through the Hellespont; and this violence exceeds the effect of the attraction of the moon upon the water of the Mediterranean: For this seems to be large enough for

^k In Corinth. p. 165. Edit. Lipf.

¹ Ital. Antiq. p. 295.

which was then possessed by the Sicani, an Iberian nation; who, flying from the Ligures, were, but lately, settled there, and had given the name of Sicania to that island, which, from

the moon to act more upon one part of it than another, and, consequently, to make one part swell more than another; but, when it subsides, it must extend itself towards the Streights, which the superior weight, and force of the water, perpetually, rushing in there, will not permit. This might, indeed, be answered by the assumption of an under-current, which may run out of the Streights, at the same time, the upper-current runs in. But, even, in that case, so vast a lake as the Mediterranean could neither receive, nor discharge water enough at the Streights, in so short a time as the tide flows and ebbs, to rise, or fall sensibly. I know that ^m Aristotle says the water, in the Strait of Sicily, ebbs, and flows according to the moon. ⁿ Strabo also, quotes Eratosthenes to shew that the water in that Strait changes its course twice every day, and as often every night, like That of the ocean. Notwithstanding these very great authorities, I much doubt whether the ebbing, and flowing of the water, in the Strait of Sicily, is so regular as they contend for; and, particularly, whether it is governed by the moon. I rather think, that it is owing to the winds, which, sometimes, blow into that Strait from the Tyrrhene sea, that is, from the north; and, at other times, from the Sicilian sea, which lies to the south of it. And ^o Thucydides, who gives the same account of the Siceli passing over from Italy to Sicily,

then called Sicania, says they crossed the Strait *καλιοντος τῆς ἀνεμῆς*, with a *favourable wind*, or, as Hobbes has, very properly, translated it, *with a fore-wind*. But, there is a difficulty, that occurs in the account given of the Sicani by Thucydides, and followed by our author: The first says, the Sicani were driven out of their country *ὑπο Λιγυῶν ἀναστάντες*, and our author says *Λιγυῶς φευγούτες*. Now, we find in no history that the Ligures were ever in possession of any part of Spain. ^p Cluver endeavours to solve this difficulty by supposing that Spain ought here to be understood in a large sense, so as to comprehend France; in which case, those Ligures, who lived between the Rhone, and the Alps, would be near neighbours to the Spaniards. Upon this occasion, I cannot help taking notice of a great mistake committed by this, truly, learned and exact geographer: He imagines that ^q Thucydides, whose words he quotes, applied those words to the passage of the Sicani from Italy to Sicily; whereas, nothing can be plainer than that Thucydides applied them to the Siceli crossing the Strait on rafts, and not to the Sicani. As for the *Λιγυῆς*, who are said by Thucydides, and Dionysius to have expelled the Sicani, I suspect they were not the Ligures, as all the translators have called them, and I myself among the rest, but some other ancient people, whose history we are unacquainted with.

^m Περὶ θαύμ.

ⁿ B. i. p. 59.

^o B. vi. c. 2.

^p In Sic. Ant. p. 26.

^q P. 27.

its triangular figure, was, before, called Trinacria: There were very few inhabitants in it for so large an island; so that, the greatest part of it was desert. When, therefore, the Siceli landed there, they, first, settled in the western parts; and, afterwards, in several others, and, from these, the island began to be called Sicely. In this manner, the Sicelian nation left Italy, according to ⁶⁶ Hellanicus, the Lesbian, the third generation before the Trojan war, and in ⁶⁷ the twenty sixth year of the priesthood of Alcyone at Argos. For he says that two Italian colonies passed over into Sicely; the first consisting of the Elymi, who had been driven out of their country by the Oenotri; the second, five years after, of the Aufones, who fled from the Iapyges. He makes Sicelus the king of these people, who, he says, gave name both to them, and to the island. But, according to ⁶⁸ Phi-

⁶⁶. Ελληνικός ὁ Λεσβίος. *Ou de Milet; il fit, selon Suidas, une description de la terre, says M * * **: But, here, again, he confounds Hellanicus, the Lesbian, with Hellanicus, the Milesian: Suidas, expressly, says, the περιόδος γῆς was written by the last. There is a remarkable passage quoted by Gellius out of Pamphila, by which, the ages of Hellanicus, the Lesbian, of Herodotus, and Thucydides will, plainly, appear: In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Hellanicus was sixty five years old, Herodotus fifty three, and Thucydides forty.

⁶⁷. Αλκυονῆς ἱερωμένης ἐν Ἀργεῖ. Our author follows the same method with ^s Thucydides, who says that the first year of the Peloponnesian war was the 48th of the priesthood of Chrysis at

Argos. It is supposed that Hellanicus of Lesbos was the first historian, who introduced the method of computing the years according to those of the priestesses at Argos; as Timaeus was the first, who introduced That of computing them according to the olympiads.

⁶⁸. Φιλίππος ὁ Συρακυσίος. The age, in which this historian lived, is very well known by his attachment to Dionysius the elder, by whom he was, afterwards, banished; a just reward for the assistance he gave to the tyrant of his country. ^t He writ, besides other works, of the affairs of Sicily, in eleven books. As to his sentiments, the disposition of his subject, and his style, they are very particularly, and very beautifully described by our ^u author,

^t B. xv. c. 23.

^s B. ii. c. 2.

^t Diod. Sicul. B. xiii. p. 387.

^u C. 5.

listus, the Syracusan, the time, when this colony passed into Sicely, was the eightieth year before the Trojan war; but the people, who went thither out of Italy, were neither the Siceli, the Aufones, nor the Elymi, but the Ligures, whose leader was Sicelus; who, he says, was the son of Italus; and that, in his reign, the people were called Siceli; and that these Ligures had been driven out of their country by the Umbri, and Pelasgi. Antiochus, the Syracusan, fixes no time for their passage, but says the people, who left Italy, were the Siceli, who had been forced to quit their country by the Oenotri, and Opici; and that they chose Sicelus for their leader. But ⁶⁹ Thucydides writes that the people, who left the country, were the Siceli, and those, who drove them out of it, the Opici: And that the time, when they left it, was many years after the Trojan war. These, therefore, are the relations, given by authors of credit, concerning the Siceli, who removed from Italy, to settle in Sicely.

XXIII. The Pelasgi, having made themselves masters of a large and fertile tract of land, took some towns, built others, and, by a swift and great advance, rose to power, riches, and every other prosperity, which they did not long enjoy: But, when all the world looked upon them to be in the most flourishing condition, they became the object of divine

in his criticism on the Greek historians: He, there, says, among other things, that, instead of imitating the freedom, and spirit of Thucydides, he was a servile flatterer of tyranny; that, like Thucydides, he left his subject imperfect; and, though inferior to

him in dignity and strength, yet he imitated him in the roundness, and closeness of his periods.

⁶⁹ Θουκυδίδης δέ. See his sixth book, and second chapter; great part of which passage has been quoted in the former notes.

wrath;

wrath ; and some of them were destroyed by calamities, inflicted by the hand of Heaven, others by their Barbarian neighbours : But the greatest part of them were again dispersed through Greece, and the country of the Barbarians ; concerning whom, if I attempted to give a particular account, it would require a very long discourse. However, a few of them remained in Italy, through the care of the Aborigines. The first cause of the desolation of their cities seemed to be a drought, which laid waste the land, the fruit falling from the trees before it came to maturity ; neither did the corn, which came up, and flowered, stand, as usual, till the ear was ripe ; nor was there grass sufficient for the cattle : Some of the waters were not fit to drink, others shrunk, during the summer ; and others were, totally, dried up. ⁷⁰ The like misfortunes attended the offspring both of

^{70.} Ἀδελφὰ δὲ τέτοισι ἐγένετο περὶ τε προβάτων καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς. The reader will observe that, in this description of the misfortunes, which happened to the offspring both of women, and cattle, our author has made choice of such terms, as are applicable to both : In which, he has been followed by the Latin translators, particularly, by Portus, as published by Hudson, who, I observe, has made some very proper alterations in this place. Le Jay, also, has succeeded very well in rendering this passage. But the other French translator has taken another course : He has made two periods of it ; one of which he has applied to the women, and the other to the cattle ; which renders his translation tedious

by the repetition of the same calamities in different terms. There is one thing in his translation, that renders it not only tedious, but ridiculous. It is to be observed that our author, after he has described the corruption, and drying up of the waters, speaks first, in general terms, of the misfortunes, that happened to the offspring of women, and cattle ; and then goes on to particularise them : This general account of those misfortunes this translator has left out, because Sylburgius, his guide, has left it out also ; whose words are these ; *Nec feliciores erant foeturae mulierum* ; which the other has literally translated : *Les femmes n'étoient pas plus heureuses dans leurs accouchements*. Now, the leaving out
cattle

cattle, and of women. For they were either abortive, or died at their birth; some, by their death, destroying even those that bore them: And, if any escaped the danger of their delivery, they were either lame, or imperfect; or, being hurt by some other accident, were not fit to be reared. The rest of the people, also, particularly those, in the vigor of their age, were afflicted with various distempers, and uncommon deaths. Upon their consulting the oracle what god, or genius they had offended, to be thus afflicted, and, by what means, they might hope for relief, the god answered that, having obtained what they desired, they had neglected to give what they had promised, but that the most valuable things were still due from them: For the Pelasgi, in a time of ⁷¹ general scarcity, had made a vow to offer up to Jupiter,

this general account of those misfortunes has given an air of ridicule to his translation of the whole passage: But, in order to shew this in a proper light, I must transcribe the period, which, immediately, precedes this. *Les sources, says he, étoient presque épuisées, ou même entièrement à sec par les chaleurs excessives.* And, then, adds, *Les femmes n'étoient pas plus heureuses dans leurs accouchements.* Now, it is plain, by the common rules of grammar, that this last sentence must relate to That, which, immediately, precedes it; because *plus* is a comparative; and must relate to something; and there is nothing but the preceding sentence, to which it can relate. The last sentence, therefore, must mean nothing, or it must mean this: *Les femmes dans leurs accouche-*

ments étoient presque épuisées, ou même entièrement à sec par les chaleurs excessives.

⁷¹ Πάντων χρημάτων. This use of the word *χρηματά* ought to convince the translators that it does not always signify money; though, I observe, that it is, generally, rendered so. Nay, what is still more extraordinary, even ^w Aristotle's definition of *χρηματά*, (by which he shews that, instead of signifying money, it signifies every thing, of which the value is measured by money) is, however, rendered in the same manner by the Latin translator, whoever he is. The words of Aristotle are; *χρηματά δε λεγομεν πάντα, ὅσων ἡ αξία νομισματι μετρεῖται.* Thus translated; *Pecunias autem appellamus omnia, quorum aestimationem metitur nummus.*

^w HΘικ. B. iv. c. 1.

Apollo,

Apollo, and the ⁷² Cabiri, the tenths of all their future product. Their prayer being heard, they set apart, and sacrificed to the gods the promised portion of all their fruits, and cattle, as if their ⁷³ vow had related to them only: This, ⁷⁴ Myrsilus, the Lesbian, relates, using almost the same words,

⁷². Τοις Καβειροις. Much time, and labour have been thrown away by many men of learning in order to discover the etymology, the origin, the names, and functions of these ridiculous heathen gods, called by the Greeks, Καβειροι. * Herodotus speaks of a temple dedicated to them at Memphis, and says, that their images resembled That of Vulcan, whose children, it seems, they were; and that the image of Vulcan represented a pygmy. Upon this foundation, ^y Bochart, and, after him, the author ^z of the history of Heaven, deduce their names from the Phoenician language, in which כבירי signifies *powerful*, in the plural number: And the Phoenician, commonly called the Hebrew, and the Aegyptian language, being, nearly, the same, it will follow that this was the signification of the word in Aegyptian. I have shewn, in a small dissertation inserted in my translation of Xenophon's Anabasis, that there is no sort of affinity between the Hebrew, and Aegyptian languages: To which I shall now add an observation I have since made, which will put this matter out of all doubt: When ^a Joseph's brothers went into Aegypt to buy corn, he spoke to them by an interpreter. Our countryman

Hyde, in his ^b history of the religion of the ancient Persians, says, *Cabiri sunt Gabri, voce Persicâ aliquantulum detortâ*. These, he says, paid a civil, not a true worship to fire.

⁷³. Ως δὲ καὶ τῶν μόνων εὐξαμένοι. Casaubon, very justly, observes that εὐχεσθαι καὶ τινος signifies *vovere aliquid*; to support which, he quotes a passage in Demosthenes. To this I shall add the authority of Aristophanes, who uses εὐχὴν ποιησάθαι in the same sense;

Τῇ δ' Ἀγροτέρῃ καὶ χιλίων παρηνεσά
Εὐχὴν ποιησάθαι χιμαρῶν ἐς αὐριοῦ
Αἱ τριχίδες εἰ γενοῖσθ' ἐκάλον τε βόλῃς ^c.

When any one made a vow to offer up a number of goats, or oxen, the vow was to be performed at the expence of those poor animals: For which reason, the preposition καὶ was very proper. This custom of sacrificing oxen, by way of thanksgiving for a victory, was, like all other follies, carried to an extravagant height by the Roman emperors, to one of whom the white oxen are supposed to have sent a Greek epistle, in which they are made to say, *αν συ νικησεις, ἡμεῖς ἀπολησόμεθα*, *if you conquer, we die*.

⁷⁴. Μυρσίλος ὁ Λεσβίος. This historian is quoted by many ancient authors,

* In Thal. c. 37. ^y P. ii. Geog. sacr. B. i. c. 12. ^z C. 27. ^a Genesis, c. xlii. ^ψ. 23.
^b C. 29. ^c εν Ιππευ. ^φ. 657, 8, 9.

which

which I now do, only, that he does not call the people Pelasgi, but Tyrrhenians, of which I shall, presently, give the reason.

XXIV. When they heard the oracle was brought to them, they were at a loss to guess at the meaning of it. While they were in this perplexity, one of the elders, conjecturing the sense of it, told them, they were very much mistaken, if they thought the gods complained of them without reason: That they had, indeed, rendered to the gods the first fruits of every thing with punctuality, and justice, except Those of the human offspring, a thing, of all others, the most precious in the sight of the gods, which yet remained due; and that, if the gods received their share of this also, the oracle would be ⁷⁵ fulfilled. Upon this, some were of opinion that he was in the right, others that there was treachery couched under his discourse: But, somebody proposing to ask the god, whether he desired to receive the tenths of the men, they sent their priests a second time, and the god ordered it should be so. In consequence of this, a sedition arose among them concerning the manner of this decimation; and those, who had the government of the cities, first quarrelled among themselves; after that, the rest of the people conceived a jealousy of their magistrates. Thence, followed disorders, and insurrections, such as might well be expected from a people, seized with a madness, inflicted by the hand of Heaven: Many houses

but without any circumstances, that lived.
can acquaint us, certainly, either with
his writings, or the age, in which he

⁷⁵ Τελος εχειν σφισι το λογιον. See the
56th annotation.

became,

became, intirely, abandoned, when, only, part of the inhabitants removed: For their relations were unwilling to ⁷⁶forfakè their dearest friends, and remain among their greatest enemies. These, therefore, were the first, who, leaving Italy, wandered about Greece, and many parts of the Barbarians country: After these, others did the same, and this continued every year. For the magistrates in the cities ceased not to select the first fruits of the youth, as fast as they arrived to manhood, desiring to render what was due to the gods; and, at the same time, to free themselves from those, ⁷⁷ who, lurking in the cities, were the most likely to raise tumults: Many, also, under specious pretences, were sent away by their enemies through hatred. So that, there were many ⁷⁸emigrations, and the nation of the Pelasgi was scattered over the greatest part of the earth.

XXV. They were superior to many in the knowledge of military discipline, which they had acquired by ⁷⁹practising it in the midst of dangers, while they lived among warlike

⁷⁶. Απολειπεσθαι των Φιλίων. The generality of the translators have mistaken the sense of this passage: απολειπεσθαι τινος signifies *to forsake any one*, rather than *to be forsaken by others*. Many instances of which may be found in Xenophon, and other writers of the best authority.

⁷⁷. Και σασιασμος εκ των διαλαθόντων δεδιότες. Here must be some error in the text. Sylburgius thinks it ought to be διαλαχόντων. This will certainly help the defect, but not cure it. I should chuse to read it thus: Και σασι-

ασμος εκ των διαλαχόντων, και ουκ εκπεμθέντων δεδιότες.

⁷⁸. Επανασασεις. Here Sylburgius, Portus, and Stephens, with great reason, read, απανασασεις.

⁷⁹. Εκ της μέλα κινδυνων ποιεισθαι τας μελέας. In this, our author has imitated Thucydides, who, in speaking of the experience, which the Lacedaemonians, and Athenians had acquired in military affairs, before they entered upon the Peloponnesian war, says, μέλα κινδυνων τας μελέας ποισμενοι ^d.

^d B. i. c. 18.

nations; and, by their cohabitation with the Tyrrhenians, became, intirely, masters of sea affairs: And, Necessity, alone sufficient to give resolution to those in want, was their leader, and director in every dangerous enterprife. So that, whither soever they went, they conquered with ease: And the same people, from the name of the country, out of which they had been driven, and, also, in memory of their ancient extraction, were called by the rest of the world, both Tyrrhenians, and Pelasgi; which I have mentioned for this reason, that, when the poets, and historians call them Tyrrhenians, and Pelasgi, none may wonder how the same people should have both these names. For ⁸⁰ Thucydides speaks of them as living in that part of Thracia called *Acte*, and of the cities there as inhabited by men, who spoke two languages: He, then, makes mention of the Pelasgian nation in the following manner: “There are some Chalcidians, but the greatest
“part are Pelasgi, the same nation with the Tyrrhenians,
“who, once, inhabited Lemnos, and Athens.” And Sophocles makes the chorus, in his drama of ⁸¹ *Inachus*, speak the following anapaestic verses, “Father Inachus, son of the

⁸⁰. Θουκυδιδης. This passage of Thucydides relates to the expedition of Brasidas against the coast of Thrace, called *Acte*: The first part of which passage our author does not transcribe, but only gives the sense of so much of it, as he thought necessary to his subject: The latter part of it he has transcribed in the manner, I suppose, he read it in his copy of that author.

But, as there are some small differences between the words, as he quotes them, and those in the present editions of Thucydides, I shall lay the passage before the reader. ^c Καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδίων ἐνὶ βραχὺ, τὸ δὲ πλείστον, Πελασγικῶν καὶ Λημνῶν πόλιν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων.

⁸¹. Ἐν Ἰναχῶ. This tragedy of Sophocles is lost.

^c Thucyd. B. iv. c. 109.

“fountains

“fountains of old Ocean, who art held in great veneration in the streets of Argos, and the hills of Juno, and among the Tyrrhene Pelasgi.” The name of Tyrrhenia was then known throughout Greece. And all the western part of Italy was called even by that name; the several nations, of which it was composed, having lost their respective appellations: The same thing happened to many parts of Greece; and, particularly, to that part of it, which is now called Peloponnesus: For the whole peninsula, in which are comprised Arcadia, and Ionia, and many other nations, was called Achaia, from the Achaians, one of the nations, that inhabited it.

XXVI. However, the time, when the calamities of the Pelasgi began, was about the second generation before the Trojan war: But this people subsisted, even, after that war, till their nation was reduced to a very inconsiderable number. For, besides Croton, a town of some note in Umbria, and some others founded by the Aborigines, all the rest of the Pelasgian cities were destroyed. But Croton preserved its ancient form a great while; neither is it long, since it changed both its name, and inhabitants, and is, now, a Roman colony, called Corthonia. After the Pelasgi left the country, their cities were seized by many people, as each happened to live near them; but, chiefly, by the Tyrrhenians, who made themselves masters of the greatest part, and the best, of them. Some are of opinion that the Tyrrhenians are natives of Italy; others, that they are foreigners: Those, who maintain the first, say this name was given them

from the towers, which they built before any of the inhabitants of this country: For covered buildings, when fortified, are called by the Tyrrhenians, as well as by the Greeks,

⁸² *Τυρσεῖς, Towers.* From this incident, they will have it that they received their name, in like manner as the Mosynoeci in Asia: For these, also, live in a kind of wooden towers, raised on high piles, which towers they call

⁸³ *Μοσσύνες.*

XXVII. But those, who, fabulously, affirm them to be foreigners established there, say, that Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, gave his name to the nation: That he was a native of Lydia, and had, formerly, removed thither from the country, anciently, called Moeonia; and that he was the fifth from Jupiter: They say, further, that Manes was the son of Jupiter, and Terra, and the first king of that country; and that his son by Callirhoe, the daughter of Oceanus, was Cotys, who, by Alie, the daughter of earth-born Tullus, had two sons, Asies, and Atys; from the last of whom, by Callithea, the daughter of Choraëus, came Lydus, and Tyrrhenus; and that Lydus, remaining there, inherited his father's kingdom, from whom the country was called Lydia: But Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, conquered great part of Italy, and gave the name

⁸² *Τυρσεῖς. Τυρσεῖς, πύργος, ἐπαλξίς, πύρμαχων.* Hesychius. This word is used more than once, in this sense, by Xenophon, in his expedition of Cyrus.

⁸³ *Μοσσύναιες. Μοσσύν, or Μοσύν. Πύργος.* Hesychius. ^f Xenophon gives a very extraordinary account of these people.

^f In. *Κυρ. Αναλ.* B. v. p. 393. Edit. of Hutchins.

of Tyrrhenians to his followers. However, ⁸⁴ Herodotus says that Tyrrhenus was the son of Atys, who was the son of Manes, and that the Maeonians did not come, voluntarily, into Italy: For he says that, in the reign of Atys, there was a dearth in the country of the Maeonians: And that the inhabitants, from a fondness for their native country, contrived a great many methods to resist this calamity: One day, they allowed themselves but a moderate sustenance; the next, they fasted: But, the mischief continuing, they divided the people into two parts, who were to draw lots which should go out of the country, and which should stay in it: That one of the sons of Atys staid, and the other went forth; and that the ⁸⁵ happier lot fell to that part of

^{84.} *Ἡροδότῳ δε εἰρηλαί.* See his first book; chapter the 94th.

^{85.} *Λαχῶσης δε της ἀμα Λυδῶ μοιρας την αμεινω τυχην εκχωρησαι.* Casaubon has, with his usual sagacity, both discovered, and reformed the errors of this passage: He has, very justly, said that *εκχωρησαι* can, by no means, be applied to the people under Lydus: He advises, therefore, to read the passage thus: *Λαχῶσης της ἀμα Λυδῶ μοιρας την μεν αμεινω τυχην, μειναι· εκχωρησαι δε την ἑτεραν,* etc. or thus, *λαχῶσης δε της ἀμα Λυδῶ μοιρας την μεν τε μενειν τυχην, εκχωρησαι δε την ἑτεραν.* Either of these readings makes the sentence agreeable to the rest of this history. I shall, therefore adhere to the first part of Casaubon's alteration; and supply the second from the words of Herodotus, many of which it is

plain our author has made use of in this relation. ⁸ Herodotus says, *λαχωντας δε αὐλων της ἑτερας ἐξιεναι εκ της χωρης:* Upon this foundation, I would read the whole sentence thus: *λαχῶσης δε της ἀμα Λυδῶ μοιρας την μεν αμεινω τυχην, μειναι· εκ δε της χωρας την ἑτεραν ἐξιεναι απολαχσαν των χρημάτων τὰ μερη.* This makes the sense complete; and the reader will observe that the words I have inserted, are those of Herodotus: Besides, by reading *εκ δε της χωρας,* instead of *εκχωρησαι,* there is little violence done to the text; and, as *εκχωρησαι,* according to the present reading, belongs to the former sentence, there is a verb wanting in the latter to lead to the consequence of *απολαχσαν,* the sense of which will, otherwise, be too much suspended: And this verb is supplied by *ἐξιεναι,* the very word

⁸ In Clio, c. 94.

the people, which was under Lydus, to remain in the country; and the other left it, after they had received that share of their fortunes, which fell to them; and arrived on the western parts of Italy, which were inhabited by the Umbri, where they remained, and built those cities, that were in being, even, in his time.

XXVIII. I am sensible that several other authors, also, have given this account of the Tyrrhenians; some, in the same terms; others, changing both the name of the leader of the colony, and the time of their migration. For some have said that Tyrrhenus was the son of Hercules, by Omphale, the Lydian; and that he, coming into Italy, dispossessed the Pelasgi of their cities, though not of all, but of those only, that lay on the north side of the Tiber. Others say that Tyrrhenus was the son of Telephus; and that, after the taking of Troy, he came into Italy. But⁸⁶ Xanthus the Lydian, who was as much acquainted with ancient history as any man; and whose testimony⁸⁷ may be as much relied

made use of by Herodotus, which answers the other word, used immediately before, both by Herodotus, and our author, that is *ἐπ' ἐξοδῷ τῆς χώρας*. I find the former makes the king, who was Atys, place himself at the head of that part of the people, which was to stay at home, and his son Tyrrhenus, or Tyrseus, as he calls him, at the head of That, which was to leave their country.

⁸⁶. *Ξανθος ὁ Λυδός*. This Lydian historian was the son of Candaules, and a citizen of Sardes, the capital of

Lydia, which was taken by the Ionians, and Athenians in his time, as Suidas says from Hesychius. This happened in the 3^d year of the 70th olympiad, and the 4214th of the Julian period^h. By this it appears that Xanthus writ before Herodotus.

⁸⁷. *Τῆς δὲ παλτοῦς καὶ βεβαιώτης ἀν ἔδενος ὑποδέεσερος νομιθεῖς*. Not one of the translators has taken the least notice of the potential word *αν* in rendering this passage; a word peculiar to the Greek language, and, very elegantly, made use of by our author upon this occasion.

^h Usher, p. 93.

on in That of his own country, does not, in any part of his history, either name Tyrrhenus, as a prince of the Lydians, or know any thing of the arrival of a colony of Maeonians in Italy; neither does he make the least mention of Tyrrhenia, as a Lydian colony, though he takes notice of several things of less importance: But says that Lydus, and Torebus were the sons of Atys; that they, having divided the kingdom they had inherited from their father, remained both in Asia, from whom, he says, the nations, over which they reigned, received their names; his words are these; “ From Lydus, the Lydians, and, from Torebus, the Torebi are so called. There is a little difference in their language, and they still borrow many words from one another, like the Ionians, and Dorians.” Hellanicus, the Lesbian, says, that the Tyrrhenians, who were, before, called Pelasgi, received the name they are now known by after they had settled in Italy. These are his words, in his Phoronis; “ Phrastor was the son of Pelasgus, their king, by Menippe the daughter of Peneus; his son was Amyntor; Amyntor’s Teutamides; whose son was Nanas: In whose reign, the Pelasgi were driven out of their country by the Greeks; and, leaving their ships in the river Spines in the Ionian gulph, took Croton, an inland town; from whence, advancing, they⁸⁸ peopled the

⁸⁸. Την νυν καλεσμενην Τυρρηνιαν εκλισαν. *Ils batirent la Ville, qu'on nomme Tyrrhenie*, says le Jay: I will not say that he has mistaken the sense of the word εκλισαν in this place, because I dare say he never considered it at all; but ap-

plied himself, solely, to translate the Latin of Portus, which he has misunderstood: *Eam, quae nunc Tyrrhenia vocatur, condiderunt*, does not signify *ils batirent la ville, qu'on nomme Tyrrhenie*, but, *ils peuplerent le pays, qu'on*
“ country,

“country, now called, Tyrrhenia.” But the account Myrsilus gives is the reverse of That given by Hellanicus: The Tyrrhenians, says he, after they had left their own country, were, from their wandering, called Πελαργοί, that is, *Storks*, as resembling, in that respect, the birds, called by that name, that come over in flocks both into Greece, and the country of the Barbarians; and he adds, that these people built the wall round the citadel of Athens, which is called the ⁸⁹Pelargian wall.

XXIX. But I look upon it that all those, who take the Tyrrhenians, and the Pelasgi to be one, and the same nation, are under a mistake. It is no wonder they were, sometimes, called by one another's names; since the same thing has happened to other nations also, both Greeks, and Barbarians; as to the Trojans, and Phrygians, who live near to one another: Both which nations many have thought to have been but one, differing in name only, not in reality. And, of all the nations, that have been confounded by being called by the same names, those, that inhabit Italy, have not been

nomme Tyrrhenie. In this sense, ⁱ Virgil has used the word *condo*,

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Had le Jay been a little more skilled in geography, he would have known that there never was a city called Tyrrhenia; but, I imagine, he had a mind to build one. The other French translator has rendered it very well.

⁸⁹. Το Πελαργικόν καλεσμένον. This must be the true reading, as Casaubon has, very well, observed, who quotes

ⁱ Virgil, Aen. i. ψ. 33.

the *Etymologicon magnum* to support it. To which I shall add the authority of Aristophanes, who makes himself very merry with his countrymen for representing Pallas all armed, and Clisthenes with a shuttle,

Επ. Καί πως αν εἰ γένοιτ' αν εὐλακίος πόλις,
Οπη θεος γυνή γεγονία, πανοπλίαν
Εσηκ' εχασα, Κλεισθενής δε κερκίδα;
ΠΕΙ. Τίς δ' αν καθέξει της πόλεως το Πελαργικόν^k;

Upon which, the Greek scholiast, very justly, observes ὅτι Αθηνησοι το Πελαργικόν τείχος εν τη Ακροπόλει.

^k Εν ορνιθ. ψ. 830.

the

the least so. For there was a time, when the Latines, the Umbri, the Aufones, and many others, were all called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks; the remoteness of the countries, inhabited by these nations, making the exact distinction of them obscure to those ⁹⁰, who live at a distance: And many historians have taken Rome itself for a Tyrrhenian city. So that, I am persuaded these nations changed their name, when they changed the place of their ⁹¹ abode; but cannot believe they had both the same origin, for this reason chiefly, among many others, that their languages are different, and preserve not the least resemblance to one another. “For, “neither do the ⁹² Crotoniatae, says Herodotus, nor the

⁹⁰. Τοις προσω. This seems very like a tautology, which it was very easy to remove, by leaving out τοις προσω, as it is in the Vatican manuscript, or τῶ προσω, as it stands in all the editions. But I have not allowed myself this liberty in translating it, though I find the other translators have not been so scrupulous.

⁹¹. Επει και βίων. I do not think that an alteration in the manner of living of a people is sufficient to give room for an alteration in their name: But a removal from one country to another may have this Effect. And this is the sense I have given to βίος in this place: In which I am justified by the authority of the *Etymologicum magnum*, which gives this signification to the word among many others: βίος, και εν ᾧ τις διατρίβει.

⁹². Ουτε Κροτωνιάται. It appears, by comparing this quotation with the

words of Herodotus, that our author contented himself with expressing his sense without confining himself to his words. It is, therefore, no wonder that he should call these people Κροτωνιάται, in vulgar Greek, instead of the Ionic Κροτωνιῆται in ¹ Herodotus. It is plain that both Dionysius, and Herodotus mean the inhabitants of Croton in Italy. So that, I see no reason to correct Herodotus from our author, notwithstanding the authority of Glareanus, and Casaubon, and even of ^m Cluver, who all contend for that correction. The reason given by the last for it, is, that Herodotus speaks of a town in Thrace called Κροτωνη in his seventh and eighth books. But this is a mistake: For, in the seventh, Herodotus calls this town Κροτωναιή, or, as the ⁿ Medicean manuscript has it, Κροτωνην; and, in the eighth, he speaks of γη Κροτωνικη; but, in neither,

¹ In Clio, c. 57.

^m Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 575.

ⁿ C. 127.

“ Placiani, who speak the same language, use the same with
 “ any of their neighbours: By which, it appears that they
 “ preserve the same language they brought with them into
 “ those countries.” However, it is ⁹³ surprising that, notwithstanding the Crotoniatae spoke the same language with the Placiani, who lived near the Hellespont, since both were, originally, Pelasgi, the language of the former should be quite different from That of the Tyrrhenians, their nearest neighbours: Because, if consanguinity is to be looked upon as the cause, why two nations speak the same language, the contrary must occasion their speaking a different one: For there is no room to think that both these causes can produce the same effect. It may, indeed, be, reasonably, supposed, that men of the same nation, living at a distance from one

does he call this town in Thrace
 ° Κρητων, which is the name, he gives to this city in Italy a few lines before this passage quoted by our author.

⁹³ Καίτοι θαυμάσιον ἂν τις, etc. Both the French translators have struck upon the same rock in rendering this passage. The reader will observe that our author says the Placiani lived near the Hellespont, in which he has followed ^p Herodotus. This circumstance those two translators have not attended to, which has led them into the mistakes they have committed. But I shall myself be guilty of a disingenuity, less pardonable than a mistake, if I censure them without transcribing their words. Those of M *** are as follows; or ne seroit il pas sur-

prenant que les Crotoniates et ceux de Placiene, qui habitent auprès du Peloponnese, parlaissent la même langue comme étant les uns et les autres Pelasgues d'origine, et qu'au contraire ils en eussent une toute differente de celle des Tyrrhéniens leurs voisins? Here, this gentleman, first, makes the Placiani live near the Peloponnese, when our author says they lived near the Hellespont; and then, he makes the Tyrrhenians to be neighbours to the Crotoniatae, and the Placiani. Le Jay, in order to render his mistake still more conspicuous, after mentioning the Crotoniatae, and the Placiani, calls the Tyrrhenians *voisins des uns et des autres*.

° In Clio, c. 57.

p In Clio, c. 57.

another,

another, may, by conversation with their neighbours, no longer, preserve the same dialect ; but, it cannot be imagined that people of the same nation, living in the same country, should not, in the least, agree with one another in their language.

XXX. For this reason, therefore, I am persuaded that the Tyrrhenians, and the Pelasgi are a different people. However, I do not think the Tyrrhenians were a colony of the Lydians : For they do not use the same language with the latter ; neither can it be alledged that, though they agree, no longer, in that respect, they, still, retain some other indications of their mother country. For, they neither worship the same gods with the Lydians, nor make use of the same laws, or institutions ; but, in these, they differ more from the Lydians, than from the Pelasgi : And those seem to come nearest to the truth, who do not look upon them as a foreign people, but as natives of the country ; since they are found to be a very ancient nation, and to agree with no other, either in their language, or in their manner of living : And there is no reason why the Greeks may not be supposed to have called them by this name, both from their living in towers, and from the name of one of their kings. The Romans give them different appellations : For, from the country, they, once, inhabited, named Etrutria, they call them Etrusci ; and, from their knowledge in the ceremonies relating to divine worship, in which they excel all others, they call them, at this time, though less accurately,

⁹⁴ Tusci; but, formerly, with the same accuracy, as the Greeks, they called them Thyfcoi: However, they call themselves from the name of one of their leaders, Razenua. But, I shall shew, in another place, what cities the Tyrrhenians inhabited; what forms of government they established; how great ⁹⁵ power the whole nation acquired; what actions, worthy of memory, they performed; and what fortune attended them. The Pelasgi, therefore, who were not destroyed, or dispersed in colonies, there being but few left out of a great many, remained in these parts, as fellow-citizens to the Aborigines; where, in process of time, their posterity, together with others, built the city of Rome. And this is the account history gives of the Pelasgi.

XXXI. Soon after, another colony of Greeks landed on this part of Italy from ⁹⁶ Pallantium, a town of Arcadia,

⁹⁴ Απο της εμπειρίας των περι τα θεια σεβασματα λειψργιων. They called them Thyfcoi απο τς θυειν. It is to be observed that the word Thyfcoi is oftener found in Roman inscriptions without the asper, than with it.

⁹⁵ Δυναμιν τε όποσιν οι συμπαντες. It is visible that something is wanting to complete the sentence: For neither διεδεξαντο in the vulgar editions, nor διεπραξαντο, in the Vatican manuscript, which is much better, can be applied to this. I would, therefore read εκλησαντο, which the learned reader will, I believe, think not improper in this place. I am surpris'd that the commentators, who, often, labour points of less consequence, have taken no notice of this.

⁹⁶ Εκ Παλλαντις πολεως Αρκαδικης. ⁹ Pausanias says that Antoninus Pius erected this village into a city in memory of the Arcadians, who came from thence, and settled on the spot, where the city of Rome was, afterwards, built; and that he granted to the citizens of Pallantium their liberties, and exempted them from paying tribute. He, further, says that the town, built by Evander and his people near the Tiber, afterwards, changed its name by the loss of the two letters λ and ν. Which, by the way, shews the correctness of the Vatican manuscript in a point, in which all the editions are faulty. M * * * says that all the palaces of princes have taken their name from this town, for which he

⁹ In Arcad. c. 43.

about threescore years before the Trojan war, as the Romans themselves say. This colony had for its leader Evander, said to have been the son of Mercury, and of some Arcadian nymph, whom the Greeks call Themis, and say she was inspired: But the writers of the Roman antiquities, call her, in the language of their country, ⁹⁷ Carmenta, which implies the same as Θεσπιωδος, in Greek, *a Prophetess in verse*. For the Romans call ᾠδας, *verses*, Carmina. However, they agree that this woman, possessed by divine inspiration, prophesied, in verse, to the people of things to come. This colony was not sent out by the common consent of the nation; but, a sedition having arisen among the people, the faction, which was defeated, left the country of their own accord. Faunus, a descendant of Mars, happened, at that time, to have ⁹⁸ inherited the kingdom of the Aborigines, a man, as it is

quotes Pliny, B. iv. c. 6. I have before me Harduin's ^r Pliny, and all I can find in that place are these words, *Palantium, unde Palatium Romae*.

⁹⁷ Καρμενίαν ονομαζουσιν. It appears by this, and many other passages in our author, that he, and Virgil derived their accounts from the same authorities. The latter makes Aeneas go to Evander to implore his assistance against the Rutuli. After Evander had promised to assist him, and given him an account of the ancient inhabitants of the country, he says ^s,

*Mepulsum patriâ, pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens, et ineluctabile fatum
His posuere locis: matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita, et deus auctor Apollo.*

I cannot omit taking notice of the truly poetical dress Virgil has given to a plain historical fact, viz. that Evander, and his Arcadians were settled in the very spot, where Rome, afterwards, stood,

*passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire carinis^t.*

⁹⁸ Ετυγχανε δε τότε την βασιλειαν των Αβοριγινων παρειληφως ο Φαυνος. M * * * is the only one of all the translators, who has not expressed the sense of the word παρειληφως. Those, who are well acquainted with the Greek language, know there is a great difference between λαμβανειν, and παραλαμβανειν; the first signifies *to receive simply*, and the other *to receive by inheritance*. In

^r B. iv. c. 6. ^s Virgil, Aen. viii. ῥ. 333. ^t ῥ. 360.

said,

faid, of activity, as well as prudence, whom the Romans, in their facrifices, and fongs, honor, as one of the gods of their country. This man received the Arcadians, who were but few in number, with great friendship, and gave them as much of his own lands as they defired. And the Arcadians, as Themis, by infpiration, had advifed them, chofe a hill, not far from the Tiber, which is, now, near the middle of the city of Rome; and, at the foot of this hill, built a fmall village, fufficient for the complements of the two fhips, in which they came from Greece: This village was ordained by fate to excel, in procefs of time, all other cities, whether Greek, or Barbarian, not only in its extent, and the majesty of its empire, but, in every other instance of prosperity; and to be celebrated, above them all, as long as human nature fhall fubfift. This village they called Pallantium from their mother city in Arcadia: However, the Romans now call it Palatium, time having introduced this inaccuracy, which has given occafion to many abfurd etymologies.

XXXII. But fome have written, of whom Polybius the Megalopolitan is one, that it was called fo, from a young man, named Palas, who died there; that he was the fon of Hercules by Dyna, the daughter of Evander; and that his grandfather by the mother's fide, having raifed a monument for him on the hill, called the place Palantium from this

this laft fenfe, " Plato has ufed the word in the difcourfe between Socrates, and Cephalus; where the former afks

the latter, *πολλερὸν, ὡ κεφαλῇ, ὧν κεκλήσται τὰ πλείω παρελαβες, ἢ ἐπεκλήσω.*

" In *πολιτ.* B. i. p. 573.

youth.

youth. But I have never seen any monument of Palas at Rome, neither could I hear of any sacrifices, or any thing of that nature, performed in memory of him; although this family is not unremembered, or without those honors, with which divine natures are worshipped by men: For I find that public sacrifices are performed, yearly, by the Romans, to Evander, and Carmenta, in the same manner, as to the other heroes, and genius's; and I have seen two altars raised; one to Carmenta, under the Capitoline hill, near the Carmental gate; and the other to Evander, at the foot of another hill, called the Aventine hill, not far from the gate Trigemina. But I know of nothing of this kind done in honor of Palas. The Arcadians, therefore, being settled all together under the hill, planned houses according to the manner of their country, and, also, built temples. And, first, they erected a temple to the Lycaean Pan, by the direction of Themis: For, among the Arcadians, ⁹⁹ Pan is

⁹⁹ Ἀρχαιοὶ γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιοτάτος τε καὶ τιμιώτατος ὁ Παν. ^w The author of the history of Heaven derives the name of this god, who was worshiped by the Egyptians at * Mendes, from an Hebrew word פָּנִים *Panim*, signifying *masks*, which the persons, dressed like Fauns, used to hang upon trees after the processions performed in honor of Bacchus. This etymology depends upon a supposed affinity between the Egyptian and Hebrew languages, which, I dare say, is, intirely, groundless: For, I think, I have convinced the reader, in a former ^y note, that

these two nations did not understand one another. But, if we should read the Hebrew word, which that author has brought to support this extraordinary etymology, as my truly learned friend, Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his curious dissertation on the Hebrew language, says we ought to read it, what will become of this etymological word, *Panim*? For he plainly shews that, in all Hebrew words, where no vowel occurs, we ought to supply it by an *e*. This he, very judiciously, confirms by reading אֶרֶב *a partridge*, *quera*, which all sportsmen will ac-

^w B. i. c. 17.

* Herod. In Euterp. c. 46.

^y See 72^d Ann.

the most ancient, and the most honoured of all the gods : Here they found a proper place for this purpose, which the Romans call the Lupercal, we should call it ¹⁰⁰ Λυκαίων, *Lycaeum* : But the ground about the temple, being, now, all built upon, the ancient disposition of the place is not easy to be guessed at. However, there was, as it is said, formerly, a vast ¹⁰¹ cavern under the hill, covered with a grove of spreading oaks ; deep fountains issued from the foot of the

knowledge to be the call of that bird. Instead of *Panim*, therefore, it must be read, and written in Roman letters, *Penim* ; and this, at once, destroys both the etymology, and the system, that is built upon it. But there is another misfortune, that attends this etymology. ² Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptian word *Mendes* signified both the god Pan, and a goat. And, for this reason, the Egyptian painters, and, after them, the Greek painters, represented Pan with the face and legs of a goat. By this, it is plain that Pan was not the Egyptian name of this god. Is it not, therefore, more natural to suppose the word to be what it, plainly, appears, a Greek word, and to denote the *universe* ; and that the Greeks, and, particularly, the Arcadians, in adoring Pan, paid a most reasonable worship to the great CREATOR and PRESERVER of *all things* ?

¹⁰⁰. Λυκαίων. It is very plain from this passage, as well as from many others in the best authors, that those, who derive the word *Lupercal* from

the wolf, that suckled Romulus, and Remus, are under a great mistake. And, yet, I have met with this derivation in some authors, particularly, in Ovid, who says of this wolf ^a,

*Illa loco nomen fecit ; locus ipse Lupercis.
Magna dati nutrix praemia laetis habet.*

It is true he gives the true etymology presently after ;

*Quid vetat Arcadio dictos a Monte Lupercos ?
Faunus in Arcadiâ templa Lycaeus habet.*

There is no doubt but the Lycaean hill in Arcadia, on which, ^b Pausanias says, the temple of Pan stood, gave name to the *Lupercal*, as, I dare say, the Lycaean games, there celebrated, gave occasion to the Roman *Lupercalia*.

¹⁰¹. Σπηλαίον ὑπο τῷ λοφῷ μεγά, etc. The reader will observe this description to be a little poetical. It seems to be introduced by our author to enliven his narration. Le Jay, and the two Latin translators have contented themselves with giving the naked sense of it. The other French translator has rendered it with greater vivacity.

² In Euterp. c. 46.

^a Fastor. B. ii. v. 421.

^b In Arcad. c. 38.

rocks,

rocks, and the valley adjoining to the precipices was shaded with thick and stately trees. In this place, they raised an altar to this god, and performed a sacrifice according to the custom of their country, which the Romans offer up to this day, in the month of February, after the winter solstice, without altering any thing in the rites then performed. The manner of this sacrifice will be related afterwards: Upon the top of this hill, they set ¹⁰² apart a piece of ground, which they dedicated to Victory, and instituted annual sacrifices to be offered up to her also, which the Romans perform, even, in my time.

XXXIII. The Arcadians, fabulously, say this goddess was the daughter of Palas, the son of Lycaon; and that she received those honors from mankind, which she now enjoys, at the desire of Minerva, with whom she had been educated: For they say that Minerva, was delivered, as soon as she was born, to Palas, by Jupiter, and that she was brought up by him, till she was received into Heaven. They built, also, a temple to Ceres, to whom, by the ministry of women,

^{102.} Το της νικης τεμενος εξελοντες. I should have imagined that εξελοντες, which cannot be applied to *a temple*, might have taught Portus, and his follower, le Jay, that τεμενος, in this place, does not signify *a temple*. That it often has this signification cannot be denied: But the genuine sense of the word, and the only one it can bear here, is *a place set apart, and consecrated to victory*. Τεμενος is derived from τεμνω, which signification it preserves,

when it is used in the sense our author has given it upon this occasion. Τεμενος, πας ο μεμερισμενος τοπος τινη εις τιμην. Hesychius. And this is the sense, and the only sense it can bear in the following passage of ^c Homer,

οφρ' αν αγοιεν

Δμωες Οδυσσης ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ μελα κοπερησινες.

Sylburgius, and the other French translator have rendered it very properly.

^c Odyf. ε. ψ. 299.

they performed ¹⁰³ sacrifices without wine, according to the custom of the Greeks; none of which rites have been changed by time to this day. Besides, they dedicated a temple to the Hippian Neptune, and instituted a festival, called, by the Arcadians, Hippocratia, and, by the Romans, ¹⁰⁴ Confualia, during which, it is customary among the latter, for the horses, and mules to rest from work, and to have their heads crowned with flowers. They, also, consecrated many other temples, altars, and images of the gods; and instituted purifications, and sacrifices, according to the manner of their own country, which, at this time, are performed without any alteration. But I should not wonder if some

^{103.} Νηφαλιοι θυσιαι. These sacrifices were performed without any libations of wine, from whence they had their name. There is a passage in the Oedipus Coloneus of Sophocles, which, with the observation of the scholiast upon it, will serve to clear up this sentence.

ἔ γαν ἀν πόλει
Πρωλαισιν ὕμνων ἀντεκυρσ' ὀδοιπορῶν
Νηφῶν αἰνοῖς ^d.

Upon which, the scholiast says, he calls the Eumenides αἰνους, ὅτι ἔ σπεν-
δειται οἶνος αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ· διο καὶ
νηφαλιαὶ καλῶνται αἱ σπονδαὶ αὐτῶν.
After this explanation of νηφαλιοι θυ-
σιαι, the reader, I believe, will wonder
as much as myself to find this passage
translated by le Jay, *des sacrifices qui*
n'étoient point suivis de repas.

^{104.} Κωνσταντία ὑπο Ρωμαίων λεγόμενα.
These were, afterwards, called ^e *Ludi*

Circenses, after the Circus was built by Tarquinius Priscus: They are, generally, supposed to have been instituted by Romulus, after the ravishment of the Sabine women. Though it is very possible that he might only revive them. Every one, who has read the history of the Roman emperors, must know with what magnificence these games were celebrated, and what heats the fondness for this, or that faction (that was the term) created among the spectators. It is thought that the chariot races, instituted by Oenomaus at ^f Elis, gave the first rise to these Circensian games. But, as those races were, also, celebrated in ^g Arcadia so early as the funeral of Azan, the son of Arcas, the fourth king of that country; and, as Evander was an Arcadian, it is very probable that he instituted these games in Italy after Those of his own country.

^d γ. 98.

^e Val. Max. B. ii. c. 4.

^f Pausanias in Eliac. c. 10.

^g Id. in Arcad. c. 4.

of these ceremonies, from their great antiquity, were neglected, and forgotten by their posterity. However, those that are still practised, are sufficient proofs of the customs, formerly, in use among the Arcadians, of which we shall speak more at large in another place. The Arcadians are said, also, to have been the first, who brought into Italy the use of ¹⁰⁵ Greek letters, which had, lately, appeared among them, and instrumental music, performed on the Lyre, and those instruments, called the ¹⁰⁶ Trigon, and the Lydian: For

¹⁰⁵. Γραμμάτων Ελληνικῶν χρῆσιν. This subject will be treated at large in the forty first annotation on the fourth book. In the mean time, it is not possible for me to pass by the translation le Jay has given us of this passage: His brethren of Trevoux will, I believe, find great difficulty to interpret away the absurdity of it: These are his words: *On dit qu'ils ont apporté les premiers en Italie l'usage de la langue Grecque, qui pour eux mêmes étoit alors toute nouvelle.* Nothing can be plainer than that our author says the Arcadians brought *the Greek letters*, and not *the Greek language*, into Italy. Has he not said often enough that the Aborigines, who were Greeks, came into Italy many generations before Evander, and that the Pelasgi, who were, also, Greeks of Peloponnesus, came into Italy some generations before Evander? And, yet, if we believe le Jay, none of these Greeks brought their language into Italy; because, I suppose, these Greeks could not speak Greek: Nay, the

Arcadians themselves under Evander, according to him, had but just learned their language, before they came into Italy. I wish I knew what language these Greeks spoke before they learned Greek. What would Dionysius have said, could it have been possible for him to know that his judicious, learned, and elegant history would, one day, be, thus wretchedly, mangled by a man, who has been celebrated with all the power of partial eloquence for his translation of it?

¹⁰⁶. Τρίγωνά καὶ Λυδοί. The first of these musical instruments is mentioned by Pollux: So that, we have reason to look upon this as the true reading. As to the other, Casaubon refers us to the following verse of Ion, mentioned by ^h Athenaeus, and says no more of it:

Λυδὸς τε μαγαδὶς αὐλὸς ἡγεῖσθω βοῆς.

I am the more inclined to think Λυδὸς the name of this instrument, because ⁱ Athenaeus says, in another place, that the Peloponnesians were taught music

^h B. xiv. c. 8.

ⁱ Ib. c. 5:

the shepherd's pipe was the only musical invention then in use. They are said, also, to have instituted laws; to have brought mankind over from the savageness, which, then, generally, prevailed, to a sense of humanity; and likewise, to have introduced arts, and sciences, and many other things conducive to the public good: And, for these reasons, they were very much cherished by those, who had received them. This was the second Greek nation, that came into Italy after the Pelasgi; and, living in common with the Aborigines, fixed their habitation in the best part of Rome.

XXXIV. A few years after the Arcadians, another colony of Greeks came into Italy, under the command of Hercules, then returned from the conquest of Spain, and of those parts, that extend to the western ocean; some of his followers, desiring Hercules to dismiss them from his service, remained in this country; and built a town on a hill, proper for that purpose, distant from Pallantium about three stadia. This is now called the Capitoline hill, but, by the men of that time, the Saturnian, and, in Greek, it may be called the Cronian, hill. The greatest part of those, who staid behind, were Peloponnesians, Pheneatae, and Epeii of Elis, who were, no longer, desirous to return home, because their country

by the Phrygians, and Lydians, who followed Pelops into Peloponnesus. As to the music expressed by these instruments, it would be a vain thing to inquire into it; because the musicians, in all ages, have been great innovators, and were, ever, inventing

new instruments, and new tastes; which made Anaxilas say that music, like Africa, was every year, producing some new monster:

Ἡ μουσικὴ, δ' ὥσπερ Λιβύη, πρὸς τῶν θένων,
 Αἰετὶ καὶνὸν καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν τιθεὶ θηρίον.

had

had been laid waste in the war against Hercules. Some Trojans, likewise, were mixed with these, who, in the reign of Laomedon, had been taken prisoners at Ilium, when Hercules made himself master of that city. And I am of opinion that all the rest of the army, also, who were either tired out with labor, or weary with wandering, having obtained a dismissal, remained here. Some think this hill had, anciently, the same name, as I have said, and that the Epei were very well pleased with the situation in memory of the Cronian hill in Elis, which stands in the Pisæan country, near the river Alpheus; and which the Elei look upon as consecrated to Saturn; and, assembling together at certain times, they honour it with sacrifices, and other marks of reverence. But ¹⁰⁷Euxenus, an ancient poet, and some other Italian mythologists, are of opinion that the name was given to the place by the Pisæi themselves, from its likeness to their Cronian hill; that the Epeii, together with Hercules, erected the altar to Saturn, which remains, to this day,

¹⁰⁷. Εὐξένος. I think Lapus was in the right in reading Εὐνίος instead of Εὐξένος, though I find ^kVossius is of another opinion. However, I do not only think that Ennius was the ancient poet here meant by our author, but that the following passage in Ennius is the very place he alludes to;

*Saturnius illi
Nomen erat, de quo late Saturnia terra.*

All authors agree that Saturnus reigned in Italy; and that, in his reign, his subjects enjoyed great prosperity,

which gave occasion to the poets to call that æra the golden age:

*Aureaque, ut perhibent, illo sub rege fuere
Saecula; sic placidâ populos in pace regebat,*

says ¹Virgil, who, every where, shews he was, perfectly, versed in the antiquities of his country. It is no wonder, therefore, that the subjects of Saturnus, in gratitude for the happiness they enjoyed under his beneficent government, should give his name to their country.

^k De hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 368.

¹ Aeneid B. viii. ℣. 324.

at the foot of the hill near the ascent, that leads from the Forum to the Capitol; and that they instituted the sacrifice, which the Romans, even at this time, perform after the manner of the Greeks. But, from the best conjectures I have been able to make, I find that, even before the arrival of Hercules in Italy, this place was consecrated to Saturn, and called, by the people of the country, the Saturnian hill; and all the rest of the coast, which is, now, called Italy, was consecrated to this god, and, by the inhabitants, called Saturnia, as may be seen in the Sibylline books, and other oracles delivered by the gods: And, in many parts of the country, there are temples dedicated to this god, and many cities bear the same name, by which the whole coast was known at that time: And several places are called by the name of that god, particularly rocks, and eminences.

XXXV. But, in process of time, it was called Italy, from Italus, ¹⁰⁸ a man of great power; who, according to Antiochus, the Syracufian, being both a wise and good prince, and, having prevailed on some of his neighbours by his eloquence, and subdued the rest by force, he made himself

¹⁰⁸. Επ' ἀνδρος δυνάμει. Both the Latin translators have rendered επι in this place, as if it signified *in the time*, or *under the reign*, as επι Αλεξάνδρου, *in Alexander's reign*; and, to express this sense of the preposition, they have both said, *sub viro praepotente*. But they ought to have considered that Dionysius often imitates Herodotus in the use of this word, who almost always

writes επι for απο. They have, also, misread M * * *, who, in his marginal note, says, *ou sous le regne d'un prince*. The Latin translators might have considered how Virgil has expressed himself in speaking of the same thing:

*nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*

^m Aeneid. B. iii. v. 165.

master of all that country, which lies between the ¹⁰⁹ Lame-
tine and Scylletic bays; which part, he says, was the first,
that was called Italy from Italus. After he had possessed
himself of this tract, and had many subjects under his com-
mand, he, immediately, aimed at subduing those nations,
that lay contiguous, and united many cities under his go-
vernment; he says, also, that Italus was an Oenotrian. But
Hellanicus, the Lesbian, says, that, when Hercules was driv-
ing Geryon's cows to Argos, and, already, in Italy, a calf
left the herd; and, running away, wandered over all that
coast; and that it swam over the intermediate streight, and
went into Sicily; that Hercules, following the calf, inquired
of the inhabitants wherever he came, if they had seen it;
and that they, understanding but little Greek, and, from the
description he gave them of the animal, calling it by the
name of ¹¹⁰ Vitulus, by which it is still known, he, from that
animal, called all the country the calf had wandered over,
Vitalia; and he adds, that it is no wonder the name has been
changed by time, since the like alteration has, also, happened to

¹⁰⁹. Τῆ τε Ναπητινῆ καὶ τῆ Σκυλλήινῃ.
^a Cluver, plainly, shews that we must
 read Λαμῆινῃ and Σκυλλήινῃ: The first
 gulph, here mentioned by our author,
 begins at the promontory, anciently,
 called Lametum, or Lampetes, from
 a neighbouring city, that was called
 by both these names: This promon-
 tory, he says, is now called *Capo So-*
vano; and, from thence, the κόλπος
 Λαμῆινος, now called, *Golfo di S. Eu-*
femia, extends to another foreland,

called, *Portus Herculis*. Here the
 Scylletic gulph begins, and reaches to
 the promontory, anciently, called Scyl-
 laeum, now, *Coda della Volpe*.

¹¹⁰. Ουίςλον. Timaeus, according to
^o Varro, says that, in ancient Greece,
 bulls were called Ἰταλοί: *Graecia enim*
antiqua (ut scribit Timaeus) tauros vo-
cabat Ἰταλῶς. Our author had great
 reason to reject this etymology of
 Hellanicus, and to conclude that Italy
 received its name from Italus.

^a In Ital. Ant. B. iv. p. 1290, and 1294.

^o Varro de re rust. B. ii. c. 5.

many.

many Greek names. But, whether, as Antiochus says, the country took this name from a commander, which, perhaps, is the most probable; or, according to Hellanicus, from the calf, yet, this, at least, is manifest from both their accounts, that, in Hercules time, or very little before, it was called Italia: For, before this, the Greeks called it Hesperia, and Ausonia, and the people of the country, Saturnia, as I said before.

XXXVI. There is another fable related by the inhabitants, that, before Jupiter's reign, Saturn was king of this country, and that the celebrated age in his reign, ¹¹¹abounding in the produce of every season, was enjoyed by none more than by them. And, indeed, if any one, setting aside the fabulous part of this account, will examine the merit of any particular country, from which mankind, immediately after their birth, received the greatest enjoyments, whether they sprung from the earth, according to the ancient tradition, or were formed by any other means, he will find none more beneficent to them than this. For, if we compare one country with another of the same extent, in my opinion, Italy is the best, not only of Europe, but even of all others. Though I am not ignorant, that I shall not be believed by many, when they reflect on Egypt, Libya, Babylonia, and many other ¹¹²fruitful countries. But I do not confine the

¹¹¹. Βίος ἀπασι δαψίλης, ὅποσοις ὥραι φυχσιν. Thus has le Jay translated this passage; *ces Siecles si connus, et si fortunés, pendant lesquels toutes les saisons de l'année produisoient une égale abon-*

dance. It is hard to say which is most extraordinary, such an age, or such a translation.

¹¹². Χωροὶ εὐδαιμονες. If, by *felicitas*, the Latin translators meant *fertility*,
richness

richness of the soil to one sort of fruits; neither am I fond of living in a place, where there are, only, fat arable lands, and nothing, or little else, useful: But I look upon that country, as the best, which is the most self-sufficient, and, generally, stands least in need of foreign commodities: Now, I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility, and plenty of every thing useful beyond any other country in the world.

XXXVII. ¹¹³ For it contains a great deal of good arable land, without wanting wood, like a corn-country: On the

which I much doubt, they have rendered *ευδαιμονες* properly. It is plain Le Jay did not think they took the word in that sense; because he has translated it, *lieux si célèbres par les délices qu'on y goute*. That *ευδαιμων*, when applied to a country, or to land, signifies *fertil*, will not be doubted by any one, who has read the best Greek authors, particularly, the poets; and this sense of the word, the Latin writers have, from them, given to *felix*; a remarkable instance of which we have in Virgil; who, in describing the fertility of valleys, derives the cause of that fertility from the waters, which, in falling from the neighbouring hills, convey into those valleys a fertilising soil; a circumstance which all our farmers are very well acquainted with:

*At quae pinguis humus, dulcique uligine laeta,
Quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus,
Qualem saepe cavâ montis convalle solemus
Despicere: huc summis liquuntur rupibus amnes,
Felicemque trahunt limum.*

Upon which, Servius says very well, *id est, fertilem*. The other French translator has rendered it very properly. But, if there could be any doubt whether our author used the word in this sense, that doubt would be cleared up by what he says in the next sentence.

¹¹³ Οὐ γὰρ ἀρεσας ἔχει ἀγαθὰς, etc. This description of Italy is very much laboured: The thoughts are so just, and the expressions so close, that I am apt to believe it cost our author some pains: I am sure it cost me a great deal to translate it; neither can I say I have satisfied myself; much less, I fear, have I satisfied the learned reader, after he has compared it with the original. The Latin translators have given the sense of it, and that is all. Le Jay has made a florid period, and given us something like the author's sense in very good language. The other French translator has given the whole sense; but as he has made three periods of one, the closeness of the

Virgil, Georg. B. ii. v. 184.

other side, the soil is proper for all sorts of trees, without being reduced to a scarcity of corn, like a wood-land ; or, by yielding plenty of both, rendered unfit for pasture : Neither can it be said that it is rich in corn, wood, and pasture, yet unpleasant to live in ; but abounds, as I may say, in all sorts of delights, and advantages. To what corn-country, ¹¹⁴ watered, not with rivers, but with rains from Heaven, do the plains of Campania yield ; in which I have seen land, that bears, even, ¹¹⁵ three crops in a year,

description is lost in the length of it. The reader will observe that I have extended the signification of πολυκαρπος to *wood*, as well as *corn*, in order to make this part as comprehensive as the other, which our author, certainly, designed.

¹¹⁴ Αρδομενης. Thus I read it, after the Vatican manuscript, instead of αρδομενα. The Latin translators, who had never seen this manuscript, are to be excused : But the French translators, who both translated, as they themselves say, from Hudson's edition, in which the readings of this manuscript are all along set down at the foot of every page, will not, I believe, be, so easily, excused for having preferred a reading that, visibly, takes off from the merit of Campania, which our author is here commending. In the first place, there is scarce any country, which is not a fen, or recovered from a fen, like Holland, that is watered with more rivers, than Campania. And secondly, I desire the reader's opinion, whether our author would have omitted this circumstance so favorable to the country he recommends,

and have given it to Those with which he compares it. Every one who has travelled in the summer through hot countries, that are not well watered with rivers, must remember how the corn languished, the grass was burnt up, and the cattle pined for want both of food, and water. With these countries, therefore, our author compares Campania, and asks very justly ; To what corn-countries, that are watered, only with rains, and not with rivers, do the plains of Campania yield ?

¹¹⁵ Τρικαρπες αργεας. No English farmer would believe that any land could bear three crops in a year ; and yet there are no farmers in the world, who understand agriculture better, or practise it with greater success. However, ¹ Strabo says the same thing, nay more, of the Campanian plains : For he says that some of them, even bear a fourth crop of cabbages, and other things of that nature. If Campania is so fertil, how comes it to pass that we, frequently, send corn thither ? —The soil is not changed, but the government is.

bringing, fucceffively, to perfection the winter, fummer, and autumnal grain? To what olive-grounds are Thofe of the Mefapii, the Daunii, the Sabines, and many others, inferior? To what vineyards, Thofe of Tyrrhenia, Alba, and Falernus; where the foil is, wonderfully, kind to vines, and, with the leaft labor, produces plenty of the fineft grapes? Befides the land, that is cultivated, Italy abounds in paftures for fheep, and goats; yet more extenfive, and more wonderful are Thofe affigned to horfes, and neat cattle: For, not only the marfh, and meadow grafs, which is very plentiful, but the infinite quantity of That, growing in ¹¹⁶ uncultivated places, on which the cattle feed in fummer, by being dewy, and moift, preserves them, always, in good condition. But, above all thefe things, the woods, growing upon precipices, in vallies, and on uncultivated hills, are moft worthy of admiration; from which, the inhabitants are, abundantly, fupplied with ¹¹⁷ fine timber for the building of fhips, and for all other works. Neither are any of thefe materials hard to be come at, or at a diftance from common ufe, but eafy

¹¹⁶. Των δε οργαδων. To this word the two Latin tranflators, and M * * * (for le Jay has left it out) have given the fenfe of *cultivated lands*, which, I think, it will not bear in this place; becaufe the grafs, growing on arable lands, in fo hot a climate as That of Italy, can never be called, with any propriety, *δρoσερα και καλαρρύνος*, *dewy and moift*; but That growing in uncultivated places under the fhade of bufhes, and trees, may, very well, be called fo. And I fhall produce a very great authority to fhew that *οργας*

figmfies *uncultivated places overgrown with bufhes and trees*. Οργας καλεῖται τα λοχυμωδη και ορεινα χωρια, και ΟΥΚ ΕΠΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΑ. Οθεν και η Μεγαρικη οργας προςωνομαδεη, τοιαυτη τις εσσα, περι ης επολεμησαν Αθηναιοι Μεγαρευσι. Harpocraton; who quotes Demosthenes, περι συνλαξεως; where it is plain that he ufes the word in this fenfe.

¹¹⁷. Και καλης ναυπηγησιμυς. Casaubon has obferved that υλης is wanting to complete the fenfe: But I think it may, very well, be underftood.

to be employed, and all ready at hand; which is owing to the multitude of rivers, that water all that coast; and make the carriage, and exchange of every thing the country produces, very convenient. Springs, also, of hot waters have been discovered in many places, affording most pleasant baths, and of sovereign use in chronical distempers. There are¹¹⁸ mines of all sorts, plenty of wild beasts for hunting, and variety of sea-fish; besides innumerable other things, some useful, and others worthy of admiration: But the most advantageous of all, is the happy temper of the air, suiting itself to every season: So that, neither the formation of fruits, nor the constitution of animals are, in the least, injured by excessive cold, or heat.

XXXVIII. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ancients looked upon this country, as consecrated to Saturn, since they esteemed this god to be the¹¹⁹ giver, and accomplisher of all happiness; whether he ought to be called Cronos, with the Greeks, or Saturnius, with the Romans: But, by which

¹¹⁸. Μεταλλα παντοδαπα. It is well known that μεταλλον, in Greek, and *metallum* in Latin, signify both *the mine*, and *the metal*. The French translators have taken the word in the last sense; I have taken it in the first.

¹¹⁹. Πασης ευδαιμονιας δοθηρα και πληρωτην. M*** asks, how this agrees with the poets, and astrologers, who thought that Saturn, and the planet, which bears his name, were the cause of evil. To this I answer, that our author was neither a poet, nor an astrologer, but an historian; who, with great reason, thinks himself obliged

to inform his readers of the traditions, which prevailed among the people, whose history he writes. I have, in a former note, shewn that Saturn was a king of Italy, under whose reign his subjects enjoyed so great a degree of happiness, that their posterity looked upon that aera, as the golden age. We must, certainly, read Cronos in the first part of the following sentence, and Saturnius in the last; because our author told us, a little before, that Cronos was called by the people of Italy, *Saturnius*.

name soever he is called, he comprehends universal nature : It is no wonder, I say, if the ancients, seeing this country abounding with universal plenty, and every charm mankind are fond of ; and, judging those places the most proper to be consecrated both to divine and human natures, which are most agreeable to them, dedicated the mountains and woods to Pan ; the meadows and green lawns to the nymphs ; the shores, and islands to the sea-gods ; and all other places, that were most agreeable to each deity. It is said, also, that the ancients sacrificed human victims to Saturn, as it was practised at Carthage, while that city subsisted ; and among the Celti, at this day, and other western nations : And, that ¹²⁰ Hercules, desiring to abolish the use of this sacrifice, erected the altar upon the Saturnian hill, and instituted a sacrifice of unstained victims burning on a pure fire. And, lest the inhabitants should make it a matter of conscience to neglect the sacrifices of their country, he directed them to appease the anger of the god, by making images, resembling the men they used to tie hand and foot,

¹²⁰. *Ἡρακλέα δέ*, etc. ^r Plutarch, also, attributes this institution to Hercules, who, by this means, put an end to that detestable custom of sacrificing human victims ; and adds, that the Romans called these pageants, *Argivi* ; either because the Barbarians, who lived in those parts, called all the Greeks, *Argivi*, and put as many of them to death in this manner, as they could take ; or, because the Arcadians, under Evander, retaining their ancient

enmity, against their neighbours, the *Argivi*, called those pageants by that name. If any thing can be ridiculous in cruelty, the method of sacrificing human victims by the *Albani* must be so. ^s Strabo says, that the high-priest of Albania, a country near the Caspian sea, pampered a man during a whole year ; and, having anointed him with precious oil, he sacrificed him, with other victims, to the moon, who, it seems, was their favorite goddess.

^r In Rom. Quæst.

^s B. ii. p. 768.

and

and throw into the Tiber ; and, dressing them in the same manner, to throw them into the river, instead of men ; to the end that, if any scruple remained in their minds, it might be removed, the resemblance of the ancient tragical scene being still preserved. This ceremony the Romans perform, even, to this day, a little after the vernal æquinox, on the ides of May ; which day they account the middle of the month : On which, after the usual sacrifices, the pontiffs, who are the most considerable of their order, together with the virgins, who have the care of the perpetual fire, the prætors, and such of the citizens as are allowed to assist at these rites, throw, from the holy bridge, into the river Tiber, thirty pageants, resembling men, which they call Argivi. But, concerning the sacrifices, and the other rites, which the Roman people perform, according to the manner both of the Greeks, and of their own country, we shall speak in another place. At present, it seems requisite to give a more particular account of the arrival of Hercules in Italy, and to omit nothing worthy of notice that he performed there.

XXXIX. The relations, concerning this god, are, partly fabulous, and, partly true. The fabulous account of his arrival, is this ; that Hercules, being commanded by Eurytheus, among other labors, to drive Geryon's cows from Erythea to Argos, performed the work ; and, having passed through many places of Italy in his return home, came, also, into that part of the country of the Aborigines, which lies near Pallantium : Where, finding a great deal of fine pasture for his cows, he let them graze ; and, being
oppressed

oppressed with labor, laid himself down to sleep. In the mean time, a robber of that country, whose name was Cacus, happened to see the cows feeding without a keeper, and longed to have them: But, seeing Hercules lie there asleep, he imagined he could not drive them all away without being discovered; and, at the same time, saw the thing would be attended with great difficulty: So, he secreted a few of them in a cave hard by, in which he lived, dragging each of them thither by the tail, ¹²¹ contrary to the natural gait of animals. This might have concealed all proof of the theft, as the way he dragged them, appeared contrary

¹²¹• Εμπαλιν της καλᾶ φύσιν τοῖς ζώοις πορείας. M*** has thought fit to leave out these words, and the reason he gives for it, is, that the phrase is useless, and would be inexcusable in a Latin author; but may be excused in Dionysius by reason of the copiousness of the Greek language; and his diffused style. But I can no more agree with him in the excuse he makes for our author, than in the fault he imputes to him. For, in my opinion, the copiousness of a language can be no excuse to a writer for introducing useless phrases. But I, greatly, suspect that the Latin translation of Sylburgius, and not the Greek text, gave that gentleman reason to think this phrase useless. Sylburgius has rendered *εμπαλιν*, *aversas*, and then adds, *contra solitum animalium incessum*. After M*** had translated *aversas*, *à reculons*, I do not wonder he looked upon what follows as not deserving to be translated.

But I doubt not to convince the reader that *εμπαλιν* does not signify *à reculons*; and that it is not an adverb, but a preposition in this place, and, elegantly, joined with a genitive case, and governs *της πορείας*: If it does not, I would fain know what does. I say, then, that *εμπαλιν* here signifies *contrary*, which I shall prove from a similar phrase in Herodotus, who tells us, that he inquired of the Egyptian priests, what might occasion the Nile to overflow its banks in the summer; and to run low in the winter; and, by what power, that river was of a nature *contrary* to That of other rivers. ¹ *Ἰσορέων αὐτῆς ἡνίκα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ΕΜΠΑΛΙΝ πεφυκεναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν.* Both "Livy, and" Virgil relate this adventure of Cacus, the first with all the elegance of an historian, and the other with all the power of poetry.

¹ In Euterp. c. 19.

² B. i. c. 7.

³ B. viii. §. 194.

to the traces of their feet. But Hercules, arising from sleep soon after; and, having counted the cows, and found how many were missing, he was, for some time, at a loss to guess whither they were gone; and, supposing them to have strayed from pasture, he sought them all over the country: But, not finding them, he came to the cave, and, though he was so far ¹²² deceived by the traces, as not to rely much on their being there, he determined, nevertheless, to search the place. But Cacus stood before the door, and, when Hercules inquired after the cows, denied he had seen them; and, when he desired to search the cave, would not suffer him to do it; but called upon his neighbours for assistance, complaining of the violence offered to him by a stranger. Upon this, Hercules found himself in great perplexity; however, he thought of an expedient, which was to drive the rest of the cows to the cave. When those within heard the well known voice, and perceived the smell, of their companions, they bellowed to them again, and their voice discovered the theft. Cacus, therefore, when his robbery was thus brought to light, put himself upon his defence, and called out to his fellow-shepherds. But, Hercules, in a rage, killed him with his club, and drove out the cows; when, finding the cave a convenient receptacle for thieves, he demolished it, and ¹²³ buried the robber under its ruins. Then, having purified himself in the river from

¹²². Διαρλωμενος· Εξπαλωμενος. Suidas; who quotes this very passage to support that sense of the word.

¹²³. Επικαλασκαπει τω κλωπι. I have

followed the Vatican manuscript, because I do not think it very probable that Hercules should demolish this cave with a shepherd's crook.

the murder, he erected an altar near the place to Jupiter the discoverer, which is now at Rome, near the gate Trigemina, and sacrificed a calf to the god, in acknowledgment for his having found his cows. This sacrifice the Romans perform, even, at this day; in which, they observe all the ceremonies of the Greeks, in the manner he instituted them.

XL. When the Aborigines, and the Arcadians, who lived at Pallantium, were informed of the death of Cacus, and saw Hercules, they thought themselves exceeding happy, in being rid of the former, whom they detested for his robberies; and were struck with admiration at the sight of the latter, whom they looked upon as something divine: The poorer sort, cutting branches of laurel, which grows there in great plenty, crowned both him, and themselves with it: Their kings, also, came, and desired Hercules to be their guest. But, when he informed them of his name, his extraction, and his achievements, they recommended both their country, and themselves to his friendship. And Evander, who had long before, learned from Themis, that it was ordained by fate, that Hercules, the son of Jupiter, and Alcmena, changing his mortal nature, should become immortal by his virtue, as soon as he knew who he was, resolved to be the first in rendering Hercules propitious to him, by paying him divine honors; and, through haste, erected an extemporary altar, near which, he sacrificed an unreclaimed heifer, having first communicated the oracle to

Hercules, and desired him to ¹²⁴ begin the sacrifice. Hercules, admiring their hospitality, entertained the people with a feast, having sacrificed some of the cows, and set apart the tenths of the rest of his booty; and, to their kings, he gave a large country belonging to the Ligures, and to some others of their neighbours, the command of which they very much desired, and, from which he had, before, expelled some ¹²⁵ lawless persons. It is said, also, that he desired the inhabitants, since they were the first, who had acknowledged his divinity, that they would perpetuate the honors, they

^{124.} Τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀρξασθαι. I have translated this, generally, *to begin the sacrifice*; but that is not sufficient to let the reader into the sense of the word καὶ ἀρξασθαι, which is thus explained by Hesychius καὶ ἀρξασθαι τὰ ἱερεῖα, τῶν τριχῶν ἀποσπασαί: It seems, this ceremony was not unknown to Homer; who, in speaking of the sacrifice preparatory to the single combat between Paris, and Menelaus, says of Agamemnon,

Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τὰ μὲν τριχὰς ^w.

But this is, more fully, explained by Virgil in the sacrifice performed by the infernal priests,

*Et, summas carpens media inter cornua fetas,
Ignibus imposuit sacris libamina prima* ^x.

^{125.} Παράνομους τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκβαλὼν ἀνθρώπους. I was wondering how M*** came to render this passage, *il en chassa les anciens habitants, qui n'ayant ni loix ni police menoient une vie aussi déréglée que leur taille étoit énorme*: I could not conceive, I say, how the Greek text

could lead him to inform us, that this country was inhabited by a race of giants; when, casting my eye on this passage, as translated by Sylburgius, I found he had rendered it thus; *expulsis prius inde viris quibusdam immanibus*: So that, he has translated the Latin translation; but with this misfortune, that he has applied *immanis* to the size of these men, as well as to their behaviour, which word, I am persuaded, Sylburgius designed to apply only to the latter: And yet this gentleman has thought fit to conclude his preface with this remarkable period; which, by the way, visibly squints at le Jay's translation; *j'espere au moins qu'on ne me convaincra pas d'avoir traduit sur les versions Latines sans consulter le texte Grec*. It is certain that, upon this occasion, he cannot be *convicted* of translating the Latin version, because he has mistaken it; but it is as certain that he never *consulted the Greek text*; if he had, he would not have imagined that παράνομοι ἀνθρώποι could signify *men of an enormous size*.

^w Iliad. τ. ψ. 273.

^x Aeneid. vi. ψ. 245.

had paid him, by offering up, every year, an unreclaimed heifer, and ¹²⁶ performing the sacrifice with Greek ceremonies; and, that he taught them those rites, to the end their offerings might, always, be acceptable to him, chusing two noble families for that ministry: And that those, who were, then, instructed in the Greek discipline, were the Potitii, and Pinarii, whose descendants continued, a long time, in the administration of these sacrifices, performing them in the manner he had appointed; the Potitii presiding at the sacrifice, and taking the first part of the ¹²⁷ burnt-offering, while the Pinarii were excluded from tasting the intrails, and admitted, only, to the second rank in those ceremonies, which were to be performed by both of them; and it is said, that this disgrace was fixed upon them, for having been late in their attendance; since, being ordered to be present, early, in the morning, they did not come till the intrails were eaten. Now, the posterity of these families have, no longer, the superintendance over these sacrifices; but ¹²⁸ slaves, purchased with the public money, perform them

^{126.} *Αγισευοίτες. Τα της θυσίας επί-
λεσανίτες.* Suidas. Le Jay has inverted
the sense of this whole period: For,
contrary to the express words of the
text, he has made the Arcadians de-
fire Hercules to perpetuate the honors
they had paid him, and to do every
thing else, which, in the text, Hercu-
les desires them to do.

^{127.} *Εμπύρα, τα καιομένα ιερά.* Hesy-
chius; whom Portus has, also, quoted
upon this occasion.

^{128.} *Αλλά παῖδες ἐκ τῆς δημοτικῆς ὠνήτοι
δρῶσιν ἀνέτοις. Παις τασσεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ δαλχ.*
Hesychius. But this signification of
the word *παῖδες* is so common in all
Greek authors, that it was, almost,
unnecessary to support it by a quota-
tion. After the example of the Greeks,
the Romans gave this sense, also, to
the word *pueri*, many instances of which
are to be found in their best writers.
Cicero says to Atticus, *puer festivus
anagnostes noster Sositheus decesserat,*

in their room. For what reasons, this custom was changed, and how the god manifested himself concerning this change of the priests, I shall relate when I come to that part of the history. The altar, on which Hercules offered up the tenths, is called by the Romans, ara ¹²⁹ maxima, *the greatest altar*: It stands near the market, called Boarium, and is held in the greatest veneration by the inhabitants: For, upon that altar, oaths are taken, and agreements made by those, who are desirous to transact any thing unalterably; and the tenths of different things are there, frequently, offered up, pursuant to vows. However, the structure of it is much inferior to its reputation. In many other places, also, in Italy, temples are dedicated to this god, and altars erected to him in cities,

meque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. I am, therefore, surpris'd that Sylburgius should correct his own translation, unless he there means to correct this error in Gelenius, and substitute *pueri*, in the room of *servi*; which shews he did not take *pueri* in the sense I have mentioned. Livy, in speaking of this very affair of the Potitii, calls the men who officiated in their room, *servi publici*; which signifies, literally, *παῖδες ἐκ τῆς δημοσίαςωνήτοι*. But this is not all: For I observe that the faults, and merits of the Latin, communicate themselves to the French, translators; Sylburgius, by substituting *pueri* to *servi* has mislead M*** who has rendered it, *de jeunes gens*; and Portus, by saying *servi*, has conducted his translator, le Jay, to the true sense of the word:

For he has translated it, *des esclaves*. Our author says he designs, afterwards, to give an account of the consequences, that attended this substituting of slaves to officiate in the room of the Potitii; as nothing of this kind appears in the eleven books, that remain, it may, in some degree, be supplied by ² Livy, who says their whole family became extinct; *tradito servis publicis solenni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit*: So their religious prejudices taught them to think.

¹²⁹ M¹⁵⁰⁵. This circumstance, also, is taken notice of by ^a Virgil; who, in speaking of Hercules, when he was in Italy, makes Evander say to Aeneas:

*Hanc aram luco statuit; quae maxima semper
Dicitur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper.*

² B. i. c. 7. ^a Aeneid. B. viii. v. 271.

and highways, there being scarce any part of Italy, in which this god is not honoured. And this is the fabulous tradition concerning him.

XLI. But That, which comes nearer to the truth, and which many, who have written the history of his actions, have imbraced, is as follows: That Hercules, being the greatest commander of his age, and, at the head of a considerable army, marched over all the tract, that lies on this side of the ocean, destroying all such ¹³⁰ monarchies, as

¹³⁰• Τυραννις βαρεια και λυπηρα τοις αρχομενοις. I observe that all the translators have rendered Τυραννις *Tyranny*, without considering that the word in Greek is not, always, taken in a bad sense, and signifies no more than the government of a single person, that is, monarchy: And, I think, it is plain enough that our author understood it in this sense here; otherwise, he would not have said that Hercules destroyed such tyrannies, as were βαρεια και λυπηραι τοις αρχομενοις, *grievous and oppressive to their subjects*; because all tyrannies are so in their own nature. It has been observed by many writers, and, particularly, by the scholiast of Sophocles in the argument of Oedipus, the tyrant, that this word is of a later date than the age of Homer, and Hesiod, who never make use of it. It is certain that the ^b former, in speaking of Echetus, the most wicked of all men, calls him a king, and not a tyrant; Εις Εχέτον βασιληα, βροτων δηλημονα παντων.

In the following verses of ^c Euripides, which Caesar had so often in his mouth,

^b Odyss. Σ. ψ. 84.

^c In Phoen. ψ. 527.

^d De Officiis, B. iii. c. 21.

τυραννις must be taken in the sense I have here given it;

Ειπερ γαρ αδικειν χρη, τυραννιδος περι
Καλλιστον αδικειν, τ' αλλα δ' ευτεβειν χρεων.

This is said by Eteocles to his mother Jocasta, who had, in vain, persuaded him to resign the crown to his brother pursuant to their agreement. It is well known that ^d Cicero has translated these verses, which, he says, Caesar was often repeating: This translation will prove, much better than I can, that the word ought to be taken in the sense I am contending for,

*Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

But I cannot omit the reflection which Cicero makes upon this sentiment. *Capitalis Eteocles*, says he, *vel potius Euripides, qui id unum, quod omnium sceleratissimum fuerat, exceperit*. This was spoken like a Roman, to whom the very name of a king was odious. But, notwithstanding his authority, and That of all his countrymen, it is very probable that, if Rome had been governed by a limited monarchy, she had never felt a tyranny.

were grievous and oppressive to the subject, and such commonwealths, as insulted, and injured the neighbouring states, mankind living, at that time, in a savage manner, and putting strangers to death without any regard to justice; and, in their room, he constituted monarchies, limited by law, and well-ordered commonwealths, and introduced customs full of humanity, and universal compassion: Besides this, he mingled with Greek and Barbarous nations, as well those living on the sea-coast, as those inhabiting the inland country, who, till then, conversed with diffidence, and a distant behaviour; built cities in desert places; turned the course of rivers, that overflowed the country; cut roads through inaccessible mountains; and contrived other means, by which every land, and sea might lie open to the use of all mankind. But he came not into Italy alone, or driving a herd of cows; for, neither is this country in the road from Spain to Argos, neither would so great honors have been paid to him, merely, for passing through it: But, having, already, conquered Spain, he came hither, at the head of a great army, in order to subdue, and reign over the inhabitants of this country: And was obliged to stay there the longer, both for want of his fleet, which was detained by stormy weather; and, because all the nations of Italy did not, willingly, submit to him. For, besides other Barbarians, the Ligures, a numerous and warlike people, seated in the passages of the Alps, endeavoured to oppose, by arms, his entrance into Italy: Upon which occasion, a very great battle

battle was fought by the Greeks, who lost all their ¹³¹ weapons in the fight. This war is taken notice of by Aeschylus, one of the ancient poets, in his Prometheus released : For, there, Prometheus is introduced foretelling to Hercules every thing, that was to befall him in his expedition against Geryon ; and giving him an account of the difficulties he was to encounter in the war with the Ligures ; the verses are these : “ You
 “ will meet with the intrepid army of the Ligures ; where,
 “ warlike though you are, you will not find fault with the
 “ engagement : For it is decreed that, even, your weapons
 “ shall fail you.”

¹³¹. Τῶν βελῶν. Βελος, in Greek, like *telum*, in Latin, signifies *a weapon*, generally. Βελος, μαχαιρά, ακις. Hesychius. Notwithstanding this, both the French translators have thought fit to render it *des flèches, arrows*, as if Hercules had commanded an army of Indians. The tragedy of Aeschylus, out of which our author cites the following verses, is lost. * Strabo, in describing the coast of Languedoc, and Provence, says the ground, where this battle was fought, lies between Marseilles, and the mouth, or rather mouths of the Rhone ; and adds several other verses of Aeschylus to those quoted by our author. It seems this spot, then, was, and now is, full of stones, which Prometheus tells Hercules should be sent down from Heaven to supply his army with weapons, after their own had failed them. As these verses are written with a spirit peculiar to Aeschylus, parti-

cularly, that part, which mentions the cloud fraught with a shower of stones ; and, as Strabo is the only author, that I know of, in whom they are to be found, I shall transcribe them for the satisfaction of the learned reader :

Εἴλαυθ' ἐλεῶται δ' ἄ τιν' ἐκ γαίης λίθον
 Εἷς, ἐπεὶ πᾶς χώρος ἐστὶ μαλθακός.
 Ἰδὼν δ' ἀμυχανεῖν τὰ σ' ὁ Ζεὺς, οἰκίερε,
 Νεφέλην δ' ὑπερσχών νιφάδι σφοδρῶν πέτρων
 Ὑπερκίον θήσει χθονά, οἷς ἐπεῖτα σὺ
 Βάλλων δηώσεις ῥαδίως Λίγυν σφαῖλον.

I remember to have seen this stony field in Provence, as I went from Marseilles to Arles : The people of the country call it in their language, which is very different from French, *las craux*. But a man of learning at Aix told me, the proper name of it was *Le champ Herculien* ; which shews that the memory of this tradition is still preserved.

* B. iv. p. 276.

XLII. After Hercules had defeated this people, and gained the pass, some delivered up their cities to him of their own accord, particularly, those, who were of Greek extraction, or had not forces equal to his; but the greatest part of them were reduced by war, and sieges. Among those subdued by battle, was this Cacus, so much celebrated by the Roman fables; a very barbarous prince, reigning over a savage people: He, they say, opposed Hercules, trusting to the fastnesses, from whence, he annoyed the neighbouring people; and, as soon as he heard that Hercules lay incamped in a plain not far off, he furnished himself like a robber, and set upon him on a sudden; and, the army being asleep, he made himself master of all their ¹³² cattle, which he found unguarded, and drove them away. Afterwards, being besieged by the Greeks, and his forts being taken by storm, he was killed after a stout resistance: His castles being demolished, the country round them was divided among the ¹³³ followers of Hercules, the Arcadians under Evander, and Faunus, king of the Aborigines. And there is room to believe that the Epei, the Arcadians, who

¹³². Λείας. Λειη, ἡ τῶν θρεμμαίων ἀγέλη. Hesychius. I am sensible that he says it signifies also, any *booty taken in war*; and that this is the sense, in which many authors use the word. But, as it, particularly, signifies a booty consisting of cattle, and, as our author has added ἀπηλάσσει, I think the word cannot be applied, upon this occasion, to any other. For which reason, *butin* in M * * * does not seem to me a proper translation of λεία.

¹³³. Καὶ αὖτε ἑτέροι. There seems to be something wanting here to complete the sense: If we read καὶ ἑτέροι, I think it will be clear enough. The reader will remember that the Trojans, mentioned in the next sentence, were those, who, as our author, before, told us, had been taken prisoners by Hercules, when he took Troy, and, after that, attended him in his expedition to Spain: For Aeneas, and his Trojans were not yet arrived in Italy.

came

came from Pheneus, and the Trojans, who all staid behind, were left to guard the country. For, among other actions, which Hercules performed, well becoming the general of an army, none was more worthy of admiration than his employing, for some time, in his expeditions, those he drew out of the cities he had taken; and, after they had, cheerfully, assisted him in his wars, settling them in the conquered countries, and bestowing on them the riches he had gained from others. These actions, they say, rendered the name of Hercules famous in Italy, and not his passage through it, which was attended with nothing worthy of veneration.

XLIII. Some say, that he left, even, two sons, by two women, in the places now inhabited by the Romans: One of his sons was Palas, whom he had by the daughter of Evander; whose name, they say, was Launa; the other, Latinus, whose mother was a certain northern girl, whom he brought with him as an hostage, given to him by her father, and preserved, for some time, untouched; but, while he was on his voyage to Italy, falling in love with her, he got her with child: And, when he was preparing to go to Argos, he married her to Faunus, king of the Aborigines: And, for this reason, Latinus is, generally, looked upon as the son of Faunus, not of Hercules. Palas, they say, died before he arrived to puberty; but Latinus, when he came to be a man, succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Aborigines; and, being killed in a battle against his neighbours, the Rutuli, without leaving any male issue, the government devolved on

Aeneas, the son of Anchises, his son-in-law. But these things happened at other periods of time.

XLIV. After Hercules had settled every thing in Italy according to his desire, and his naval forces were arrived in safety from Spain, he offered up to the gods the tenths of his booty, and built a ¹³⁴ small town of the same name with

¹³⁴ Πολιχνην επωνυμου αυτης κλισιας. This is the unfortunate town, that was so many hundred years, afterwards, destroyed by that fatal eruption of mount Vesuvius, in which Pliny the elder perished. The particulars of which, as they were seen, and felt at Misenum, are described by his ^fnephew in his letter to Tacitus. This horrible conflagration is mentioned by Suetonius in his life of Titus, in whose reign it happened, and described in all its dreadful circumstances by ^e Xiphilinus, the abstracter of Dion Cassius. Some learned men have maintained, that the eruption of Vesuvius, by which Herculaneum was destroyed, happened in the last year of the reign of Titus: But, though Suetonius has not mentioned the particular year, yet it is certain, that it happened in the first of his reign. We know both by ^h Suetonius, and Xiphilinus, that he reigned two years, two months, and twenty days; and, by the latter, that the great fire, which consumed a vast Number of public, and private buildings at Rome, happened the year after this eruption of mount Vesuvius, while Titus was absent, and making a progress through Campania to comfort, and relieve his afflicted subjects. The

year following, he died on the ides of September, in the consulship of Flavius, and Pollio. But I suspect that either Xiphilinus, or his transcriber has mistaken the name of the first consul: For, in the *Fasti Consulares*, he is called M. Plautius Silvanus, and his colleague, M. Annius Verus Pollio, who were consuls the 834th year of Rome, which was the year Titus died. These circumstances, I believe, will convince the reader, that the great eruption of Vesuvius must have happened in the first year of his reign. Whatever diversity of opinions there might, formerly, have been concerning the situation of Herculaneum, there can be none now, since the discoveries made by his Sicilian majesty's order: For, it, plainly, appears by the temple of Hercules, his statues, and many inscriptions there found, that this subterraneous town was the ancient Herculaneum. I have heard it said, and, most heartily, wish it may be true, that, among the many curious monuments of antiquity, there discovered, several manuscripts of the ancient authors have been found; nay, I have heard it asserted, that an entire Livy is among them; and why may we not hope, one day, to see the nine last books of

^f Pliny, B. vi. Epist. 16.

^e p. 225.

^h Sueton. Life of Titus, c. 11.

himself,

himself, in the place where his fleet lay at anchor (which, being now inhabited by the Romans, and lying in the mid-way between Pompeii, and Naples, has, at all times, secure havens) and having gained glory, worthy of ¹³⁵ emulation, and received divine honors from all the inhabitants of Italy, he set sail for Sicily. Those, who were left by him, both as guards, and inhabitants, of Italy, and were settled on the Saturnian hill, lived, for some time, under a separate government. But, not long after, joining with the Aborigines in their manner of living, their laws, and their religion, as the Arcadians, and, before them, the Pelasgi, had done; and, partaking of the same ¹³⁶ form of government, they came to

our author? If such manuscripts have been found, and his Sicilian majesty should think fit to make them public, I will venture to affirm that he will, from that time, be looked upon as a common benefactor to mankind; and his name will be celebrated as long as those great authors, thus restored by him to life, shall be admired.

¹³⁵ Ζηλος. This is a very significant word in Greek, and not easy to be translated into English: The reason is, that, in Greek, it is used in a greater latitude than our language will allow. For, though we say, *such a one deserved emulation*, we cannot say, *he gained emulation*, which the Greeks can; for which, no reason can be given, but that there is a humor in all languages, which must be complied with. I cannot omit the fine definition given by Suidas of the word ζηλος, though I think it too philosophical for a gram-

marian. It is, says he, αγαθος τινος επιθυμια φθονος τινος χωρις εγγινομενη τη ψυχη. Le Jay shews he saw the difficulty of rendering this word, by leaving it out. The other French translator, has, in my opinion, said with great propriety, *après avoir donné de si beaux exemples de vertu*.

¹³⁶ Πολεως τε της αυτης τοις Αβοριγισι κοινονησαντες. I have given to πολις, in this place, the sense of πολιτεια, as it is, often, used by the best authors, particularly, by ⁱ Aristotle in this passage, φανερον τοιουν οτι η ΠΟΛΙΣ εστι κοινονια τοπικη. And, in this sense, the Latin authors, after the example of the Greeks, have used the word *civitas*, as ^k Cicero calls monarchy *regale civitatis genus*. For this reason, it is impossible to know in what sense the Latin translators have used that word in rendering this passage; but the French translator, le Jay, whose lan-

ⁱ Περὶ πολιτ. B. iii. c. 6.

^k De Leg. B. iii. c. 15.

be looked upon as the same nation. So much I thought proper to say concerning the expedition of Hercules, and the Peloponnesians, who remained in Italy. The second generation, and about the fifty fifth year, after the departure of Hercules, as the Romans themselves say, Latinus, the son of Hercules, and the supposed son of Faunus, was king of the Aborigines, and in the thirty fifth year of his reign.

XLV. At that time, the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, had fled from Troy after it was taken, landed at ¹³⁷ Laurentum, upon the coast of the Aborigines, lying on the Tyrrhene sea, not far from the mouth of the Tiber: And, having received from the Aborigines some land for their habitation, and every thing else they desired, they built a town on a hill, not far from the sea, and called it ¹³⁸ Lavinium. Soon

guage leaves no room for that doubt, makes all these nations live in the same city, though Dionysius has, already, described the particular parts of the country inhabited by each of them.

¹³⁷ Λαυρεντιον. M*** says that Laurentum is, now, called *San-Lorenzo*. But ¹ Cluver says that those, who call this town by that name, are mistaken; the modern name of it being *Paterno*. The same translator has rendered these words, ἐπὶ τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει κείμενον, *sur les côtes de la Tyrrhenie*, when it is well known that Tyrrhenia lay on the west of the Tiber, and Laurentum on the east of it, between Ostia, and the river Numicius. But, if, by *la Tyrrhenie*, he means the *Tyrrhene sea*, he has expressed himself ill, even, in

his own language; for he should have said *de la mer Tyrrhénienne*.

¹³⁸ Λαγίνιον. The hill, on which the Trojans built ^m Lavinium, is three Roman miles from the sea; and, on this hill, were the springs, that fed the river ⁿ Numicius,

haec fontis stagna Numici.

These springs, and the cavern from whence they flowed, were, afterwards, consecrated by the Romans, to a goddess, called *Anna Perenna*, in whose honor there was a festival instituted; the chearfulness of which ^o Ovid says he was so well pleased with, that he thought it deserved to be related. After he has described this festival, he tells us who this *Anna Perenna* was,

¹ In Ital. Ant. B. iii. p. 883.

^m Cluver, in Ital. Ant. p. 893.

ⁿ Virgil, Aen. vii. v. 150.

^o Fastor. B. iii. v. 523.

after

after this, they changed their ancient name, and were, to-

and how she came to be thus distinguished: It seems, she was no other than *Anna*, the sister of the unfortunate Dido, her confident in her amour with Aeneas, and a person, whom every one, who reads the fourth book of Virgil, must wish well to. After the tragical end of her sister, Iarba, a Numidian prince, whose addresses Dido had rejected, took Carthage, and sent poor Anna to seek her fortune: The first place she took refuge in, was the island of Malta, where Battus, who was then king of the place, as Ovid says, received her very courteously; but, being threatened by Pygmalion, her implacable brother, he was forced to dismiss her. She then went to Italy; and, at her landing, found her old friend Aeneas, who, with Achates, was, then, walking by the sea side. They were both much surprised at this unexpected meeting. However, Aeneas, after some awkward excuses for his cruel usage of her sister, takes her home, and recommends her to his wife Lavinia: But she, growing jealous of her, Anna was, again, forced to fly; and, in her flight, the river Numicius fell in love with her, and made the partner of his watery bed. After this, she ^p says to those, who were sent in search of her,

*placidi sum nympha Numici,
Anna perennelatens, Anna Perenna vocor.*

But Anna's honors do not end here: For she has, since, had the good fortune to be canonized; and there is, at this instant, a chapel erected to her upon the same spot under the title of

Santa Petronella, which is no great deviation from *Anna Perenna*. As this place was held in great veneration by the old Romans, their successors would, by no means, lose the benefit of that veneration; but chose rather, to direct it to another object, by the same kind of composition, as they have changed the destination of the Pantheon at Rome, and dedicated the same temple to all the saints, which their predecessors had dedicated to all the gods. And I am persuaded that the same reason, which induced them to erect a chapel upon a spot of ground consecrated by the old Romans, induced them, also, to coin the name of *Petronella*, in order to approach as near to the others in the name of the person to be worshiped, as they had done in the place where that worship had been paid: And the reason, that convinces me of this is, because *Santa Petronella* is as fictitious a person as her predecessor, *Anna Perenna*; and deserves as much to be unniched: For, if the reader will trouble himself to look into her life, among other absurdities, he will find, that she is said, without any authority from scripture, to have been St. Peter's daughter, and to have died at Rome on the last of May in the 98th year of Christ, in the reign of Domitian; when it is well known that Domitian himself died in the 96th year of Christ; and that ^q Nerva, his successor, after a reign of one year, four months, and nine days, was dead, and ^r Trajan, his adopted son, had succeeded to the empire before the last day of May in the year 98.

^p Faistor. B. iii. §. 653. ^q Xiph. in Nerva, p. 242. ^r Petav. Ret. Temp. B. v. c. 4 and 7.

gether with the Aborigines, called Latines, from the king of that country: And, leaving Lavinium, they, in conjunction with the inhabitants of those parts, built a larger city, which they furrounded with a wall, and called it Alba: From whence they went, and built many other cities also, called the cities of the ancient Latines; of which, the greatest part are inhabited, even, to this day. Sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, they sent out a colony to Pallantium, and Saturnia, where the Peloponnesians, and the Arcadians were, first, settled, and where there were still left some remains of the ancient people; there they built, and encompassed Pallantium with a wall, which then, first, received the form of a city: This city they called Rome, from Romulus, who was the leader of the colony, and the seventeenth in descent from Aeneas. But, concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, since some historians have been ignorant of it, and others have related it in a different manner, I shall treat with accuracy, and make use of the histories of those writers, both Greek, and Roman, who are most credited. This is the account given of him.

XLVI. Troy being taken by the Greeks, either by the stratagem of the wooden horse, as Homer sings, or, by the treachery of the Antenoridae, or, by any other means, the greatest part of the Trojans, and of their allies, then in the city, were slain in their beds: For, it seems, this misfortune happened to them in the night, when they were not upon their guard. But Aeneas, and his Trojan forces, which he had brought from the city of Dardanus, and Ophrynum, to
the

the assistance of the Ilienſes, and, as many others, as had early notice of the calamity, while the Greeks were taking the lower town, fled together to the ſtrongeſt part of Pergamus, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the citadel, which was fortified with a ſeparate wall, and, in which, were depoſited the holy things belonging to the religion of their country, together with a large quantity of money, as in a ſafe place, and here, alſo, was the flower of their army : There they repulſed the enemy, who were endeavouring to force their way into the citadel; and, ſallying out, privately, through the narrow paſſages, with which they were well acquainted, they ſecured the retreat of thoſe, who were eſcaping from the taking of the city : The number of whom was greater than That of the priſoners. By this diſpoſition, Aeneas checked the firſt fury of the enemy, who deſigned to put all ¹³⁹ the citizens to the ſword, and prevented them from taking the whole city by ſtorm. But, conſidering what was, reaſonably, to be expected, that it would be impoſſible to preſerve a city, the greateſt part of which was, already, in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, he thought of this expedient; which was, to abandon the citadel to them, and ſave the people, the holy things belonging to the religion of their country, and all the effects they could carry away with them.

¹³⁹. Ολην διαχρησαθαι την πολιν. Here πολιν is taken for πολilai, according to that almoſt proverbial expreſſion, πολιν, ανδρες, & τειχη. And, in this ſenſe, Sylburgius has rendered this paſſage, which le Jay has thought fit to leave out. And no body, I be-

lieve, will imagine that, by διαχρησαθαι την πολιν, and καλαληφθηναι το ασυ, in the next ſentence, our author means the ſame thing. The former, therefore, plainly, relates to the deſtruction of the citizens, and the latter to the taking of the city.

Having

Having thus resolved, he, first, sent out the children, and the women, with the ¹⁴⁰ old men, and all such, whose condition required much time to make their escape, with orders to take the road, that leads to Ida, while the Greeks, intent on taking the citadel, would never think of pursuing the people, who were escaping out of the city. One part of the forces he appointed to convoy those he had sent away, to the end that their flight might be as secure, and as little troublesome, as the ¹⁴¹ present conjuncture would admit: These were ordered to take possession of the strongest part of mount Ida: With the rest, who were the choicest men, he staid upon the walls of the citadel, and, while the enemy were diverted from the pursuit by assaulting the walls, he rendered the retreat of those he had, before, sent out, the less difficult: But Neoptolemus, with his men, having gained the ascent to part of the citadel, and all the Greeks supporting him, he abandoned the place; and, opening ¹⁴² the gates, through which the others had escaped, he marched away with the rest in good order, carrying with him, in the best chariots, his father, and the gods of his country, with his wife, and children, and such other persons, and ¹⁴³ things, as were most valuable.

¹⁴⁰. Stephens finds fault with καλαγχεαια. I cannot, indeed, say that I ever met with the word before, but καλαγχεασκω, and καλαγχεως are common enough.

¹⁴¹. Εκ των ενοντων. I can, by no means, approve of *e praesente calamitate fuga*, in Sylburgius, and much less, of le Jay's leaving out these words. This Greek expression is so common

in all good authors, that I think it needless to bring any authorities to support the sense I have given to it.

¹⁴². Τας φυγαδας πυλας. It was not possible to translate this poetical expression literally. And, indeed, all the translators have been so modest as not to attempt it.

¹⁴³. Χρημα. See the 71st annotation.

XLVII. In the mean time, the Greeks took the town by storm; and, being intent on plunder, gave those, who fled, an opportunity of escaping with great security. Aeneas, and his people, overtook their companions on the road; and, being, now, all together, they posted themselves on the strongest part of mount Ida. They were joined not only by the inhabitants of Dardanus, who, seeing a great and unusual fire break out at Troy, deserted their town, and all went thither, except those, who, under Elymus, and Aegeus, having prepared some ships, had left it before; but, also, by all the inhabitants of Ophrynum, and of the other Trojan cities, who were desirous to preserve their liberty: And, in a very short time, the numbers of the Trojan forces, were, very much, increased. Those, who, with Aeneas, had, thus, escaped from the taking of the city, were, during their stay here, in hopes of returning home, as soon as the enemy should sail away. But the Greeks, having reduced to slavery the ¹⁴⁴ inhabitants both of the city, and of the neighbourhood, and demolished the strong places, were preparing to attack those, also, who were posted on the mountains: But the Trojans, sending heralds to treat of a peace, and desiring they would not reduce them to the necessity of making war, they called a council, and made peace with them upon the following terms: That Aeneas, and his people should transport themselves with all the ¹⁴⁵ effects they had

¹⁴⁴ Την πολιν. Here, Πολις is, again, taken for πολῖται.

¹⁴⁵ Τα χρηματια. All the translators have rendered χρηματια properly in this

place. I cannot say so much of their manner of translating καὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας in the next sentence; which, I think, they have misplaced, I mean the Latin

saved in their flight, out of the territory of Troy within a limited time, and deliver up to the Greeks the places of strength : And that, after they had left the country in pursuance of these terms, the Greeks should allow them a safe-conduct by sea, and land throughout all their dominions. Aeneas, having accepted these conditions, which he looked upon as the best the present conjuncture would admit of, sent away Ascanius, his eldest son, with some of the allies, the greatest part of whom were Phrygians, to the ¹⁴⁶ Dascy-litic country, in which lies the Ascanian lake, he having been invited by the inhabitants to reign over them, where he staid not long : For ¹⁴⁷ Scamandrius, and the other Hectoridae, who had been dismissed out of Greece by Neoptolemus, coming to him, he returned to Troy in order to restore them to their paternal kingdom. And this is all the account, that is given of Ascanius. As for Aeneas, after his fleet was ready, he embarked with the rest of his

translators only, for both the French translators have left out those words. The others have applied *καὶ αὖτε ὁμολογίας τοῦ ἀσφαλείαν*, when they, plainly, relate to *ἀπισσι*, which they, immediately, follow ; and, by this wrong application of the words, they have weakened the sense at least, and disjointed the period. Le Jay has, not only, left out these words, as I said, but has translated the rest of this sentence in so cavalier a manner, that I cannot forbear transcribing his words ; *Que les Grecs de leur côté faciliteroient la sortie d'Enée, et lui presteroient main-forte sur terre et sur mer où ils estoient*

également puissants. All the translators have rendered *ἐκ τῶν ἐνορίων*, in the next sentence, in the sense I contend for in the 141st annotation.

¹⁴⁶. *Δασκυλίην γῆν*. ^r This country is in Bithynia, as is, also, the Ascanian lake, near to which stood Nicaea, the capital of those parts.

¹⁴⁷. *Σκαμανδρείος*. He is, more generally, known by the name of Aftyanax ; but Homer says that Hector, his father, gave him That of Scamandrius :

Τον ῥ' Ἐκὼρ καλεῖσκει Σκαμανδρείον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ἀφύανακί' ^s.

^r Strabo. B. xii. p. 861.

^s Il. Z. γ. 402.

sons, and his father, taking with him the ¹⁴⁸images of his gods; and, crossing the Hellespont, sailed to the next peninsula, which lies before ¹⁴⁹Europia, and is called Pallene. This country was ¹⁵⁰inhabited by a Thracian people, named

¹⁴⁸· Καὶ τοῦ πατέρα καὶ τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν. I have, before, observed, and shall, often, have occasion to observe, that Virgil, and our author followed the same historians in many things relating to Aeneas: The former has used almost the same words in speaking of this embarkation of his hero,

feror exul in altum
Cum sociis, natoque, penatibus, et magnis diis ^c.

I am surpris'd that Dionysius made Aeneas forget his wife, particularly, as he had told us before that he carried her, as well as his children, and his gods out of Troy. Virgil, indeed, had a very good reason to dispose of Creusa before Aeneas set sail, because she would, most certainly, have been a very inconvenient person both in his amour with Dido; and in his addresses to Lavinia.

¹⁴⁹· Ἡ προκίλει μὲν τῆς Ευρωπῆς. So this word must be read as Vossius, quoted by Hudson upon this occasion, has, plainly, proved. This country, he says, was called Europia from Europus, a town of Macedon, mentioned by many geographers, which was the capital of it. The peninsula, called Pallene, was, at the time our author speaks of, inhabited by a Thracian people, called Thrusaeans, who are supposed to be the same Herodotus means, when he speaks of a country lying near the Thermean gulph, which he calls

Κρεσσαίη. The same author says that the fleet of Xerxes, when they were sailing to Greece, made the promontory of Pallene, called Canastraeum, and received ships, and men, from the cities of Pallene, which, he says, was, formerly, called, "Phlegra. These cities he enumerates: Their names are, Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aega, Therambos, Sciona, Mendas, and Sana. Vossius finds fault with our author for using such expressions, upon this occasion, as might induce his readers to think he meant the Thracian Chersonesus instead of That called Pallene. But Vossius ought to have considered that Dionysius says he takes this account from Hellanicus, and did not allow himself to alter any part of his relation. So that, if there is any word in it, that may mislead the reader, and there is but one, which is ἐγγίσα, it must be placed to the account of Hellanicus, and not to That of our author.

¹⁵⁰· ἔθνος δ' εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῇ. Thus we must read this sentence, with the Vatican manuscript. Αὐτῇ, in the vulgar editions, is scarce sense: For, if it can be supposed to relate to Pallene, it is a very strange way of speaking to say αὐτῇ εἶχεν ἔθνος, instead of ἔθνος εἶχεν αὐτῇ. But, in order, to enter into the accuracy of the Vatican manuscript, we must consider that εἶχεν, in this place, signifies *to inhabit*, in which

^c Aeneid. B. iii. γ. 11.

^c In Polyh. c. 123.

Crusaei, who were in alliance with the Trojans, and had assisted them, during the war, with greater alacrity than any of their confederates.

XLVIII. This, therefore, is the most credible account, concerning the flight of Aeneas, which is taken from Hel-
lanicus, one of the ancient writers, in his history of the Trojan affairs : There are different accounts given of the same things by some others also, which I look upon as less probable than this. But, let every reader judge as he thinks proper. Sophocles, the tragedy writer, in his drama, called Laocoon, represents Aeneas, just before the taking of the city, removing with his family to Ida, in obedience to the orders of his father Anchises, who remembered the injunctions of Venus ; and, concluded from the prodigies, which had, lately, happened to the Laocoontidae, that the ruin of the city was not far off. His iambics, which are spoken by another person, are as follows : “ Now Aeneas, the son of
“ the goddess, is at the gates, bearing his father on his
“ shoulders, whose back, struck with thunder, distills on
“ his linen garment : He carries with him, ¹⁵¹ on chariots,

sense, it is taken by the best authors. *Εχων, οικων.* Hesychius. And this use of the word the Latin writers have borrowed from the Greeks ;

*Quare agite, et, primo laeti cum lumine solis,
Quae loca, quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,
Vestigemus* ^w ;

says Aeneas in Virgil, just after he landed in Italy.

¹⁵¹ Κυκλει δε πασαν οικειων παραπληθειαν.
I am obliged to depart from all the translators, both French and Latin, in rendering this verse. And, notwithstanding my great veneration for Casaubon, who has taken great pains to correct it, I think the verse, as it stands in all the editions, carries with it a very obvious sense. Had Casaubon attended a little more to the force

^w Aeneid. B. vii. v. 130.

“all his family: There follow a multitude, but, not so many, as you desire, and those who wish well to this Phrygian colony.” But ¹⁵² Menecrates, the Xanthian, says, that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Greeks, from his enmity to Alexander; and that, upon the strength of this merit, he was allowed, by the Greeks, to save his family. His account, which begins from the funeral of Achilles, is delivered in these terms: “The Greeks were oppressed with grief, and thought the army had lost its head:

of the word κυκλει, he would not have thought it necessary to alter it to κυκλοι, which has obliged him, also, to alter the whole structure of the verse. Κυκλειν signifies *to carry on chariots*, which our author has, himself, explained by telling us that Sophocles represents Aeneas ανασκευαζομενον: And this is the signification Hesychius, whose authority is often quoted by Casaubon, gives to the word. Κυκλησομεν, εφ’ αμαξων κολισμεν. Neither can I agree with * Plutarch in reading μοις for νωις, because μοις, which signifies *a tent*, is below the dignity of tragedy. This tradition, that Anchises was struck with thunder, is followed by Virgil, who makes him say to his son, when he was pressing his father to accompany him in his flight,

*Jam pridem invisus di-vis, et inutilis annos
Demoror; en quo me divum pater, atque hominum rex
Fulminis afflavit ventis, et contigit igni* ^γ.

I cannot conceive what le Jay could, possibly, mean by translating the verse before us in this manner, *sa robe de*

pourpre reluit de la lumiere qui l’environne. This has not the least pretence to a translation, and may be applied to any other verse in Sophocles, as well as to this. The ignorance we are in concerning the person in this drama, who speaks these verses, and the person, to whom they are addressed, makes it impossible to translate them with any tolerable beauty: So that, it is hoped the reader will content himself with a literal version of them.

¹⁵². Μενεκράτης ὁ Ξανθίος, Κεφαλων Γεργηθίος, Ηγησιππος. The ² first of these historians is seldom mentioned, and all we know of him is that he treated of the affairs of Lycia. The second is as little known. ^a Strabo says he was born in a town near Cuma, called αἱ Γεργηθες. He writ of the Trojan affairs. Hegesippus is more known by this passage of our author than by any thing else we can find concerning him. As to Hellanicus, mentioned a little before, see the 66th annotation.

* Περί αρετῆς καὶ κακῆς.
^a B. xiii. p. 882.

^γ Aeneid. B. ii. v. 647.

^z Vossius de Hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 387.

“How-

“ However, they solemnized his funeral, and made war
 “ upon all the country, till Ilium was taken by the
 “ treachery of Aeneas, who delivered it up to them. For
 “ Aeneas, being disregarded by Alexander, and excluded
 “ from the honours of the priesthood, ruined Priamus;
 “ and, having done this, he became one of the Greeks.”

Others say, that he resided, at that time, at the sea port, where the Trojan ships lay: And others, that he had been sent, with a body of forces, into Phrygia by Priamus, upon some military expedition. Some give a more fabulous account of his departure. But, let it be, as every one thinks.

XLIX. What happened after his departure creates still a greater doubt in most people: For, some, after they have brought him as far as Thrace, say he died there: Of which number are Cephalo Gergithius, and Hegesippus, who writ concerning Pallene, both ancient historians, and of great authority. Others convey him, from Thrace, to Arcadia, and say he lived in the Arcadian Orchomenus, and, in a place, which, though in the midland country, yet, by reason of the fens, and a river, is called Νῆσος, *an island*: And, that the town, called ¹⁵³ Capyae, was built by Aeneas, and the Trojans, and took its name from Capys, a Trojan.

¹⁵³ Καπυαί. This town is called by the same name in ^b Strabo, who says that it was reported to have been built by Aeneas, and called Capuae, from Capys; and that it stood near Mantinea in Arcadia. It appears, by

many passages in Virgil, that Capys was one of the companions of Aeneas; and ^c Virgil, also, says that Capua in Italy received its name from him:

Et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi.

^b B. xiii. p. 905. ^c Aeneid. B. x. ʒ. 145.

¹⁵⁴ Arifthus, who has written of the affairs of Arcadia, and, others, give this account. Some affirm, that, indeed, he came hither; but that he died in Italy, and not here, as many relate, particularly, Agathyllus, an Arcadian, the poet, who, in an elegy, fays thus: “He came
“into Arcadia, and, in Nefus, married his two daughters
“Codone, and Anthemone: But he himfelf haftened to the
“Hefperian land, where he begot Romulus.” The arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans in Italy, is attested by all the Romans, and confirmed by the ceremonies, obferved by them, both in their facrifices, and feftivals; by the ¹⁵⁵ Sibyl’s books, the Pythian oracles, and many other things; which none ought to reject, as contrived for the fake of embellishment. Many monuments, alfo, evident to this day, are fubfifting, even among the Greeks, on thofe coafts, where they landed, and among thofe people, with whom they

¹⁵⁴ Αριſθος, Αγαθυλλος. Ariaethus, or Arifthus is ſcarce known but by this paſſage of Dionyſius; to which, alſo, Agathyllus is obliged for the little we know of him.

¹⁵⁵ Σιβυλλης τε λογια, και χρεſμοι Πυθικοι. ^d Thucydides makes the ſame diſtinction between prophecies in proſe, and oracles in verſe, when he ſpeaks of the ominous ſigns, that uſhered in the Peloponneſian war; πολλὰ μὲν λοſία ἐλεγέο, πολλὰ δὲ χρεſμομολογοιῶν: Upon which, the Greek ſcholiaſt, very properly, obſerves, λογία εἰς τὰ παρὰ τὰ θεὸν λεγόμενα κατὰ λογαδὴν· χρεſμοι δὲ οἵτινες ἐμμελῶς λεγόνται, ἐμφορεμενίων τῶν λεγόντων. This reaſon, if there was

no other, would convince us that the Sibyl’s books were in proſe. As for Thoſe in Greek hexameter verſe, which have been, often, quoted by men of more zeal than learning, they are now known to be pious frauds: For the author of them differs from all other prophets, not only in foretelling things, that are paſt, but, alſo, in being, perfectly, free from obſcurity. The great Scaliger never mentions him without giving him this, or the like appellation, *pſeudoſibyllinus harioſus*. As for the Pythian oracles, it is well known they were delivered in verſe, at leaſt, as long as they were in credit enough to maintain a poet.

staid, when storms, or contrary winds detained them in their harbours: In mentioning which, though they are many, I shall be as short as possible. They, first, went to Thrace, and landed on the peninsula, called ¹⁵⁶ Pallene: It was inhabited, as I have said, by Barbarians, named Crusaei, where they found a safe retreat. There they staid the winter season, and built a temple to Venus upon one of the promontories, and also a city, called ¹⁵⁷ Aenea, where they left all those, who, from fatigue, were not able to bear the sea, or chose to remain there, as in a country they were, for the future, to look upon as their own. This city subsisted to the time of the Macedonian empire under the successors of Alexander; but was destroyed in the reign of Cassander, when ¹⁵⁸ Thessalonica was building: And the inhabitants of Aenea, with many others, removed to the new-built city.

L. From Pallene, the Trojans sailed to Delos, Anius being, then, king of that island: Here many monuments

¹⁵⁶ Παλληνη. M. * * * says, in his note upon this passage, that this peninsula was in Macedon, and, entirely, different from That of Thrace called, also, Pallene; but that is a mistake; this is the same peninsula, which, formerly, belonged to the Thracians, and, afterwards, to the Macedonians. That gentleman did not, I believe, observe that our author, before, gave a summary account of Aeneas's voyage, and now enters into a detail of it.

¹⁵⁷ Πολιν Αινειαν. This town is

called by ^e Livy, in one place, *Aenia*, and, in another, *Aenea*; where, ^f he says, an annual sacrifice was performed to Aeneas, the founder of it.

¹⁵⁸ Θεσσαλονικη. ^g Strabo says, also, that the inhabitants of Aenea, and of the neighbouring villages; were removed to Thessalonica by Cassander, who gave to his new-built city the name of his wife: She was daughter to Philip, and sister to Alexander the great. This town is, now, called *Saloniki*.

^e B. xlv. c. 10.

^f B. xl. c. 4.

^g Epit. of Strabo. B. vii. p. 51.

of the arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans, were to be seen, while this island was inhabited, and ¹⁵⁹ flourished. Then, being arrived at Cythera, another island, lying off Peloponnesus, they built a temple there to Venus. While they were on their voyage from ¹⁶⁰ Cythera, and not far from Peloponnesus, one of Aeneas's companions, by name, Cinaethus, died, whom they buried upon one of the promontories, which, from him, is, to this day, called ¹⁶¹ Cinaethion. And, having renewed their affinity with the Arcadians, concerning which I shall treat afterwards, and staid a short time in these places, where they left some of their people, they came to ¹⁶² Zacynthus. The Zacynthii, also, received them in a friendly manner on account of their consanguinity (For Dardanus, the son of Jupiter, and Electra, the daughter of Atlas, had, as they say, by Battea, two sons, Zacynthus,

¹⁵⁹ Ηνθεῖ. Portus, and Sylburgius have, very justly, observed that ἡνικα, or ὅτε is wanting before ηνθεῖ to complete the sense. The reader will remember that ^h Virgil, also, carries Aeneas to Delos, where Anius, then, reigned,

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos.

This, I imagine, Virgil designed as a compliment to his patron Augustus, who, like Julius Caesar, was pontifex maximus, a dignity, which all his successors enjoyed till ⁱ Gratian was so very wise as not to accept it, which many emperors have since had sufficient cause to lament. It was, no doubt, a very wise institution, not that

high-priests should be kings, but that kings should be high-priests, that is, the heads of their churches. The island of Delos is so much celebrated both by the poets, and historians of old, and of so little consequence now, that both these are reasons for me to say no more of it than that the modern Greeks, in their half Barbarous language, call it *'Sdilous*.

¹⁶⁰ Κυθηρα. This island is, now, called *Cerigo*.

¹⁶¹ Κιναιθιον. ^k Strabo, also, mentions this place as lying near Taenaron, a promontory of Laconia.

¹⁶² Εἰς Ζακύνθον. This island is now called *Zante*.

^h Aeneid. B. iii. v. 80.

ⁱ Zozimus, B. iv. p. 250. Edit. of Oxf.

^k B. viii. p. 552.

and Erichthonius; of whom one was the ancestor of Aeneas, and Zacynthus the founder of the island) In memory, therefore, of this consanguinity, and by reason of the kindness of the inhabitants, they staid here some time; and, being, also, detained by stormy weather, they offered up a sacrifice to Venus, in a temple, built by themselves; which, to this day, the Zacynthii perform in common, and, also, celebrate games, consisting, among other exercises, of a course to be run by young men, in which, he, who comes first to the temple, gains the prize: This is called the course of Aeneas, and Venus, and statues are erected there to both of them. From thence, ¹⁶³ standing out to sea, they came to Leucas, the place being, yet, in the possession of the Acarnanes. Here, also, they built a temple to Venus, which stands in the little island, that lies between Dioryctus, and the city: It is called the temple of the Aenean Venus. From thence, they sailed to ¹⁶⁴ Actium, their fleet lying at

¹⁶³. Εχειθεν δε πελαγιον ποιησαμενοι τον πλυν. This sentence is, sadly, translated by M. ***. *De là ayant levé l'ancre ils prirent terre à Leucade.* I do imagine that Aeneas, and his people, could scarce have sailed, if they had not weighed anchor; but, what becomes of πελαγιος? They were to sail from Zante to the island of Leucadia, now called, *Santa Maura*, and had their choice either to steer their course between Cephalenia, now called, *Cefallogna*, and the continent, where the streight is full of little islands; or to stand out to sea, and leave Cephalenia

to the east: They chose the latter; and this is, what our author calls, very properly, πελαγιος πλυσ. In this sense, the word is used by ¹Thucydides, who, speaking of the Lacedaemonian squadron, that sailed from the cape Malea to attack Melos, says, πλεσαι εν αι νηες απο Μαλεας παλαγιοι, which Hobbes has, with his usual accuracy, translated in the following manner, *These gallies holding their course from Malea through the main sea.*

¹⁶⁴. Ακτιον. This town is now called *Figolo*, and stands at the mouth of the Ambracian gulph, known, now, by

anchor off a promontory of the Ambracian bay. After that, they came to Ambracia, of which city ¹⁶⁵ Ambrax, was, then, king: He was the son of Dexamenus, the son of Hercules: And monuments of their arrival are left in both places; at Actium, the temple of the Aenean Venus, and, near to it, That of the great gods; both which remain to this day; and, in Ambracia, a temple of the same goddess, and a chapel, dedicated to the memory of Aeneas, near the little theatre, in which there is a small ancient statue, said to be of Aeneas, that was honoured with sacrifices by the priestesses, called by them, *Αμφιπολοι*.

LI. From Ambracia, Anchises with the fleet, sailing near the shore, came to ¹⁶⁶ Buthrotum, a sea-port of Epirus.

the name of *golfo de Larta*. Opposite to Actium, Augustus built a town, which he called Nicopolis, in memory of the signal victory he obtained off that place, by the conduct of Agrippa, against his infatuated rival, Marc Antony. Ambracia retains its old name with a small variation, being, now, called *Ambrakia*.

¹⁶⁵ *Αμβραξ ὁ Δεξαμενὸς τῶς Ἡρακλέους*. I find, by a note in Hudson, that Palmerius, after taking great pains to find out all the sons of Hercules, says there is no such man as Dexamenus among them; for which reason, he is of opinion, that this Dexamenus is the person, who was so much celebrated for his magnificent entertainment of Hercules.

¹⁶⁶ *Βυθρότιον*. Aeneas, in Virgil, pursues the same course; and, having sailed within sight of Zacynthus, and

of several islands lying near the continent, particularly, Ithaca, which had produced Ulysses, that formidable enemy to the Trojans, he arrives at Buthrotum, now, *Butrinto*; where he finds Helenus in possession of the kingdom of Epirus. But Virgil describes this voyage of Aeneas so much better than I can, that I shall lay it before the reader in his own words ^m:

*Jam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos,
Dulichiumque, Sameque, et Neritos ardua saxis.
Effugimus scopulos Ithacae Laërtia regna,
Et terram altricem saevi execramur Ulyssis,
Mox et Leucatae nimboſa cacumina montis,
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.*

ⁿ *Litoraue Epiri legimus, portuque subimus
Chalcio, et celsam Buthroti ascendimus urbem.
Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat aures,
Priamidem Helenum Graias regnare per urbes,
Conjugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum.*

^m Aeneid. B. iii. v. 270.

ⁿ v. 292.

But Aeneas, with the ablest men of the army, in two days, marched to Dodona, to consult the oracle: There they found the Trojans, who had come thither with Helenus: And, having received answers concerning their colony, and, among other Trojan offerings, dedicated to the god brazen cups (some of which are still extant, and, by their inscriptions, which are very ancient, shew by whom they were given) they joined their fleet, after a march of about four days. The arrival of the Trojans at Buthrotum is made manifest by a hill, called Troy, where they, formerly, incamped. From Buthrotum, they sailed close to the shore, and came to a haven, which was, then, called the haven of Anchises, but, now, its name is more ¹⁶⁷ obscure; where also, they built a temple to Venus; and, then, crossed the Ionian sea, having for guides in their navigation, some, who accompanied them of their own accord, and took with them Patron, the Thurian, and his men. The greatest part of whom, after the army was, safely, arrived in Italy, returned home: But Patron, with some of his friends, being prevailed on by Aeneas to engage in the colony, staid with

The oracle of Dodona is much celebrated by the poets, and historians in all ages; and, for that reason, it will be a lasting monument both of the knavery of the priests, and the folly of the people.

¹⁶⁷ Νυν δὲ ἀσαφές ἐστιν ἐχόντος ὀνομασίαν. Casaubon has, with great learning, and sagacity, shewn that this haven, the

name of which, our author says, was become obscure, was not *Cassiope*, but *Anchesmus*; which he confirms by a passage in one of °Cicero's letters to Atticus, where he says, *Brundisium venimus VII. kal. Decemb. usi tuâ felicitate navigandi. Ita belle nobis flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Anchesmites.*

° B. vii. Epist. 2.

them.

them. These, according to some, inhabited ¹⁶⁸ Alontium, a town of Sicily. In memory of this kindness, the Romans, afterwards, bestowed Leucas, and ¹⁶⁹ Anaëtorium upon the Acarnanes, which they had taken from the Corinthians; and the former desiring to reinstate the ¹⁷⁰ Oeniadae, they gave them leave to do it, and, also, to enjoy the produce of the islands, called the ¹⁷¹ Echinades, in common with the Aetoli. But, to return to Aeneas: His people did not all go ashore at the same part of Italy, but most of them landed at the ¹⁷² cape Iapygia, which was, then, called the

^{168.} Εν Αλοντίω. This town stands on the north of Sicily, not far from the sea, near the river Chydas, and is now called *Alontio*. ^p Cicero accuses Verres of having robbed the inhabitants of all their wrought plate.

^{169.} Ανακτορίον. ^q This town stands near to the Ambracian gulph, not far from the temple of Apollo at Actium. It is, now, called *Vonizza*.

^{170.} Οινιάδας. Near the mouth of the river Achelous, lay a country, that was called, as ^r Strabo says, *Paracheloitis*; by its being often overflowed by that river; which confounded the boundaries of the lands belonging to the Acarnanes, and their neighbours, the Aetolians; and this produced frequent wars between those two nations. It is said that Hercules, by raising banks, put a stop to this inundation of the river, and introduced plenty into a country, that, before, was, generally, covered with water; which gave occasion to the fable of Amalthea's horn.

This service Hercules did to the country in favor of Oeneus, who was king of it; and whose daughter Deïanira he had married. From Oeneus, the people were called Oeniadae.

^{171.} Εχινάδας. These are small islands lying at the mouth of the Achelous. ^s Pliny makes them nine. ^t Thucydides, and, after him, ^u Strabo were of opinion that these islands would, one day, be joined to the continent by the mud, continually, brought down by the Achelous, which, the former says, is a large, and turbid river. It is said that this has happened to all these islands, but three, which are, now, called, *Cursolari*, or *Cuzzolari*.

^{172.} Ἀκρὰν Ἰαπυγίαν. Thus Casaubon reads it instead of ἀκρὰν Ἰαπυγίας, which he, very properly, supports by the authority of ^w Thucydides, who calls this promontory by that name. I find, also, that ^x Strabo calls it ἀκρὰ Ἰαπυγία. It is, now, called, *Capo di S. Maria di Leuca*.

^p Fourth Oration against Verres. ^q Strabo, B. x. p. 691. ^r B. x. p. 703. ^s B. iv. c. 12.
^t B. ii. c. 102. ^u B. x. p. 703. ^w B. vi. c. 44. ^x B. ii. p. 185.

¹⁷³ Salentine cape: The rest disembarked at a place, called
¹⁷⁴ Minervium, where Aeneas himself landed in Italy. This is a promontory, that forms a harbour in the summer, which, from that time, is called the haven of Venus: After this, they sailed along the shore to the streight, having Italy on one hand, and left in these places, also, some traces of their arrival; among others, a brazen patera in the temple of Juno, on which is inscribed, in ancient characters, the name of Aeneas, who dedicated it to the goddess.

LII. When they came near Sicily, whether they had any design of landing there, or were forced from their course by tempests, which are common in these seas, they disembarked at that part of the island, which is called ¹⁷⁵ Drepana: Here,

¹⁷³ Η τῷ Σαλεντίνῳ ἐλεγείο. We are obliged to the Vatican manuscript for this correction. The south west part of this peninsula was inhabited by the Salentini, whose territories ¹ Strabo says, included the promontory Iapygia. For which reason, it is called by ² Pliny *Salentinum promontorium*.

¹⁷⁴ Ἀθηναιον. This temple of Minerva is mentioned by many ancient authors. It stood to the north of the ³ cape Iapygia, and was called by the Romans, *Castrum Minervae*, *Ara Minervae*, and *Minervium*, and, now, *Castro*. Here, also, Aeneas lands in ^b Virgil;

portusque patefcit

*Jam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae:
 Vela legunt socii, et proras ad litora torquent.*

¹⁷⁵ Δρεπανα. A town on the south west part of Sicily, not far from Lily-

baeum: It is now called *Trápani*. This town stands in a peninsula, the south side of which forms a fine port. Drepanum received its name from its figure, which, being curved, was thought to resemble a sithe, in Greek, *δρεπανον*; which figure gave name, also, to Messana, another city in Sicily, which was called Zancle, from *ζαγκλη*, another Greek word for a sithe. In Drepanum, Aeneas, as ^d Virgil says, loses his father Anchises, and, for this reason he calls it, *a melancholy coast*;

*Hinc Drepani me portus et illaetabilis ora
 Accipit.*

Here, also, he finds his countryman Acestes, called, by the historians, Aegestus; and here was the coast, where his brother Eryx had reigned.

¹ B. vi. p. 425.

^b Aeneid. B. iii. *℥*. 530.

² B. iii. c. 13.

^c Cluver, Sicil. Antiq. B. ii. p. 236.

^a Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. p. 1240.

^d Aeneid. B. iii. *℥*. 707.

they

they found the Trojans, who, with Elymus, and Aegeſtus, had left Troy before them; and who, being ¹⁷⁶ favoured both by fortune, and the winds, and, at the ſame time, not over burthened with baggage, had a quick paſſage to Sicily, and were ſettled near the river ¹⁷⁷ Crimeſus, in the country of the Sicani, who, out of friendſhip, had beſtowed the land upon them by reaſon of their relation to Aegeſtus, who had been born, and bred in Sicily by the following accident: One of his anceſtors, a man of diſtinction, and of Trojan extraction, being upon ill terms with Laomedon, the king, ſeized him for ſome reaſon, and put him to death, and, with him, all his male children, leſt he ſhould ſuffer ſome miſchief from them; but, thinking it unbecoming him to put his daughters to death, as they were yet virgins,

^{176.} Οἱ τυχῆς τε καὶ πνευμαῖος εἰς λα-
βομενοί. I cannot perſuade myſelf that
our author deſigned εἰς as an epithet
both for τυχῆς, and πνευμαῖος, though I
find the Latin translators have applied
it to both; and ſo would Ovid, no
doubt, if he had tranſlated it, as any
one may gueſs, by the following diſtich,
which, is, pretty much, in the ſame
taſte, and which I have heard much
admired:

*Demophoon ventis, et verba, et vela dedisti:
Vela queror reditu, verba carere fide* ^e.

This is the language of a witty poet,
not of a loveſick girl, who would have
expreſſed herſelf with leſs wit, and
more paſſion. If I have applied the
word *favoured* both to fortune, and the
winds, it is becauſe *favourable*, in our

language, is applicable to both in a
figurative ſenſe: But εἰς, when ap-
plied to fortune; is in the figurative;
and, when to the wind, in a literal ſenſe.
But this epigrammatic way of writing
is much below the dignity of hiſtory,
and no author deſpiſes it more than
Dionyſius. The only difficulty is, that
τυχῆς, without this epithet, may be
thought too general, and not to ſignify
good fortune: But this difficulty will
be removed, if we conſider the word,
as explained by Heſychius. Τυχῆς,
εὐτυχία.

^{177.} Κριμησον. This river, is, ſome-
times, called Κριμεσος, and, by ^f Plu-
tarch, Κριμησος: It falls into the ſea
not far from Lilybaeum; on the ſouth
weſt coaſt of Sicily, and is, now, called
Balici.

^e Phyll. to Demoph. γ. 25. ^f Life of Timol.

and

and unsafe to suffer them to marry any of the Trojans, he delivered them to some merchants, with orders to carry them to the most distant country: They were attended in their voyage by a noble youth, who was in love with one of the two virgins, whom he married as soon as she arrived in Sicily; and, during their stay among the Siceli, they had a son, whose name was Aegeſtus; and who, having learned the manners, and language of the inhabitants, after the death of his parents, Priamus being, then, king of Troy, obtained leave to return home; and, having aſſiſted him in the war with the Greeks, ¹⁷⁸ while theſe were employed in taking the city, he failed back again to Sicily, being accompanied, in his flight, by Elymus, with the three ſhips, which Achilles had with him, when he plundered the Trojan cities, and which, by their ſtriking upon ſome hidden rocks, he had loſt. Aeneas, finding theſe men here, ſhewed them great kindneſs, and built two cities for them, called ¹⁷⁹ Aegeſta,

¹⁷⁸. Αλισκομενης της πολεως. I think *la ville étant ſur le point d'être priſe*, in M. ***, does not expreſs the author's ſenſe; and ſubmit it to him, whether *pendant qu'on prénoit la ville* would not be a cloſer tranſlation of it in his language.

¹⁷⁹. Αιγεσαν και Ελυμα. The firſt of theſe towns was, afterwards, called *Segeſta*, by the Romans, and looked upon by them to have been founded by Aeneas. § Cicero ſays the inhabitants could prove this: For which reaſon, they eſteemed themſelves as united to the Romans, not only, by a

perpetual alliance, and friendſhip, but, alſo, by conſanguinity. This town ſtood near the river Simois, after it had been joined by the Scamander, both Trojan names, and the ruins of its ſea port are ſtill to be ſeen at a place which ^h Cluver ſays is, now, called *Caſtel à mare*. This place lies on the ſouth weſt coaſt of Sicily. But this great geographer, very unjuſtly, cenſures ⁱ Virgil for making Ilioneus ſay to Dido,

*ſunt et Siculis regionibus urbes,
Armaque, Trojanoque a ſanguine clarus Aceſtes,*

§ Againſt Verres, fourth oration.

^h Sic. Antiq. p. 265.

ⁱ Aeneid. B. i. v. 549.

and

and Eryx, where he left some part of his army; which, I imagine, he did by choice, to the end that those, who were tired with fatigue, or, otherwise, disliking the sea, might injoy rest, and a safe retreat: But some write, that the loss of part of his fleet, which was burnt by some of the women, who were dissatisfied with wandering, obliged him to leave those behind, who belonged to the ships, that were burnt;

before Aeneas had ever been in that island: For, says he, the poet brings him thither after the death of Dido. From whence, he concludes that Virgil, very much, forgot himself, when he spoke of the arrival of Aeneas at Drepanum in Sicily. But, if Cluver had considered the series of Virgil's narration with a little more attention, he would not have passed this censure on him. Aeneas lands at Drepanum, where he loses his father; from thence, he sets sail for Italy; but is driven, by a tempest, on the coast of Africa near Carthage: And ^h Virgil begins his narration with his hero's sailing from Sicily.

*Vix è conspectu Siculae telluris in altum
Vela dabant laeti.*

Ilioneus, therefore, very properly, mentions Sicily, and Acestes in his speech to Dido: And it must be supposed that Aeneas, during his first stay in Sicily, had seen Acestes; because, when he came to that coast the second time, Virgil makes Acestes surpris'd at the arrival of his allies, who, he imagined, were in Italy, and ⁱ congratulating them *on their return*,

^h Aeneid. B. i. v. 34.

ⁱ Aeneid. B. v. v. 35.

^k v. 40.

^l Aeneid. B. v. v. 750.

^m B. vi. c. 2.

*Et procul excelso miratus vertice montis
Adventum sociasque rates, occurrit Acestes,*

^k *Gratatur reduces.*

It is plain, therefore, that Aeneas had been in Sicily before he went to Carthage, and saw Dido. While he was there the second time, he built Aegesta; and, having left the women there, and those of his people, who were not ambitious of a great name, he sailed to Italy with the rest, who were few in number, but eager for action^l;

*Transcribunt urbi matres, populumque volentem
Deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.
Ipsi transstra novant,
Exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.*

Every reader, who admires Virgil, will excuse this digression in justification of him. Concerning the other town, called, Ελυμα, by our author, Cluver, very justly, contends that we should read Ερυμα, which he supports by the authority of ^m Thucydides, who says that Ερυξ and Εγεσα were two cities belonging to the Elymi. Here Cluver fights with the arms of geography, in which he was better exercised than in Those of criticism.

and, for that reason, could sail no longer with their companions.

LIII. There are many monuments of the arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans, in Sicily ; but the most remarkable are the altar of the Aenean Venus, placed on the summit of mount Eryx ; and, a temple, dedicated to Aeneas, in Aegeſta ; the first being erected by Aeneas himself, to his mother ; and the temple, by those left there by the fleet, who consecrated it to the memory of their deliverer. The Trojans, therefore, who came hither with Elymus, and Aegeſtus, remained in these places, and continued to be called Elymi ; for Elymus was the first in dignity, as being of the royal family, from whom they all took their name. Aeneas, and his companions, leaving Sicily, crossed the Tyrrhene sea, and came, first, to a port of Italy, called ¹⁸⁰ Palinurus, which, they say, took its name from one of the pilots of Aeneas, who died there. After that, they came to an island, which they called ¹⁸¹ Leucosia, from a woman, who was a relation to Aeneas, and died at that place. From thence, they came to an anchor in a deep and beautiful haven of the Opici, which, from ¹⁸² Misenus, a man of figure, who, also, died there, they

¹⁸⁰. Παλινυρος. When ⁿ Virgil said,

Aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit,

he spoke like a prophet, as well as a poet ; for this place is still called *Palinuro*, and the cape, *Capo di Palinuro*.

¹⁸¹. Λευκοσία. This is the name all authors give to this little rocky island, called, now, *la Licofa*.

¹⁸². Μίσηνος. Misenus, the trumpeter of Aeneas, who was thrown into the sea here by his rival, Triton, is much celebrated by Virgil. Our countryman, Dryden, who was a man of great learning, and very capable both of tasting, and expressing the beauties of poetry, is transported with the last of the two following verses, which, they

ⁿ Aeneid. B. vi. v. 381.

called

called by his name : And, coming to the island, ¹⁸³ Prochyta, and to the promontory, ¹⁸⁴ Caieta, they named these places in the same manner, desiring they should serve as monuments of the women who died there ; of whom one, is said to have been a relation of Aeneas, and, the other, his nurse. At last, they arrived at Laurentum in Italy ; where, coming to the end of their wandering, they threw up an intrenchment ; and the place, where they incamped, is, from that time, called ¹⁸⁵ Troy : It is distant from the sea about four

say, ° Virgil added, while he was reciting the Aeneid to Augustus,

*Misenum Aeoliden : quo non praestantior alter
Aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantum.*

This cape is, still, called *Capo Miseno*. I have not followed the Vatican manuscript, where this haven is called λιμνη κακος ; because, if it had been a *bad haven*, it would not have been the constant station of the Roman fleet, provided for the security of the Tyrrhene sea ; which it, certainly, was, as may be seen in many ancient authors, particularly, in the letter, mentioned in a former note, which Pliny the younger writ to Tacitus, giving him an account of his uncle's death.

¹⁸³ Προχύτη. A little island lying off cape Misenum, now, called *Procita*, and *Procida*.

¹⁸⁴ Ακρωτήριον Καίτης. Thus Casaubon has, very judiciously, corrected this passage : But I wish he had left out τυχη, which, I think, can have no place here. For I do not see why Aeneas, when he was sailing along this

coast, could be said to have come to this promontory *by chance* any more than to any other. Caieta, still, retains its name with a small variation, it being, now, called *Gaeta*. Here, again, Virgil has followed the same historians with our author, and says, this place received its name from the nurse of Aeneas, who died here.

*Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
Aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti.* 9.

¹⁸⁵ Τροία. 1 Livy gives the same account. *Ab Sicilia classe Laurentum agrum tenuisse : Troja et huic loco nomen est.* The place, where Aeneas formed his camp, must have been between the lake of Ostia, and the east side of the Tiber. Our author says he was under a necessity of making this digression concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, because many historians asserted that Aeneas never came thither at all. This assertion many modern authors of great reputation have revived, and written, professedly, on that subject. For which reason, I shall follow

° Preface to Fresnoy's Art of painting.
† B. i. c. 1.

1 Aeneid. B. vi. 5. 164.

9 Aeneid. B. vii. 5. 1.

stadia. I was under a necessity of relating these things, and of making this digression; since some historians affirm that Aeneas did not, even, come into Italy with the Trojans; and some, that it was another Aeneas, not the son of Anchises, and Venus; others, that it was Ascanius, the son of Aeneas; and others, that they were some other persons. There are, who pretend, that Aeneas, the son of Venus, after he had settled a colony of his people in Italy, returned home, was king of Troy, and, dying, left his kingdom to Ascanius, his son, whose posterity enjoyed it for a long time: These are, in my opinion, deceived, by mistaking the sense of Homer's verses. For, in the Iliad, he represents Neptune, foretelling the future splendor of Aeneas, and his posterity, in this manner;

¹⁸⁶ *On great Aeneas shall devolve the reign,
And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain.*

Pope.

the example of our author, and, also, make a digression, to answer the objections of these writers. But, I easily, foresee that a dissertation of this kind, in which many things must be answered, and many established, will be much too long to be inserted among the notes; I shall, therefore, give it a place by itself at the end of this book.

^{186.} ΝΥΝ ΔΕ ΔΗ ΑΙΝΕΙΔΟ. I have given Pope's translation of these verses, which I shall always observe, when any verses of Homer are quoted in the course of this work. For a poet must be translated by a poet; and his translation of the Iliad will be admired as long as

the English language shall be understood. He has a long note upon these verses, in which he takes notice of the explication our author gives of them in the passage, now, before us; and, upon the whole, treats the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, as a chimera, invented both by Virgil, and our author, to compliment Augustus. But, I shall consider his reasons at large, as also, Those alledged by Bochart in his letter to Segrais, to which he refers. I hope no critic will find fault with his translation of these verses, because he has left out the word *Trojans*, which is the very point in dispute; since, as Homer

Thus,

Thus, supposing that Homer knew these men reigned in Phrygia, they invented the return of Aeneas, as if it were not possible that, if they lived in Italy, they should reign over Trojans. But, it was not impossible that he should reign over those Trojans he had carried with him, though settled in another country. However, other reasons, also, may be given for this mistake.

LIV. But if this creates a difficulty, that the sepulchre of Aeneas is said to be, and is shewn, in many places, it being impossible for the same person to be buried in more than one; let them consider that this difficulty is common to many, particularly to men of illustrious fortunes, and wandering lives; and let me inform them that, though only one place received their bodies, yet, their monuments were erected in many, through the gratitude of those, who had received some benefits from them; particularly, if any of their family, still, remained, or any city had been built by them, or if their residence, among any of those people, had been long, and distinguished by instances of humanity: All which agree with the ¹⁸⁷ account, we have received, of this hero. For, having preserved Troy, when it was taken, from utter

had, in the preceding verse, mentioned Priam, the kingdom, that was to devolve on Aeneas, must be understood to be That of the Trojans. We find, by ^s Strabo, that some read these verses in this manner:

Νυν δε δη Αινειας βιη ΠΑΝΤΕΣΣΙΝ αναζει.
meaning the Romans. And, in this

manner, ^t Virgil has adapted them to his system.

*Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*

^{187.} Μυθολογμενα. See the end of the 37th annotation. All the translators have adhered to the vulgar sense of the word, without considering the absurdity, that, visibly, results from it.

^s B. xiii. p. 906.

^t Aeneid. B. iii. v. 97.

destruction, and sent away the Trojan allies safe to Bebrycia ; left his son Ascanius to reign in Phrygia ; built a city of the same name with himself in Pallene ; married his daughters in Arcadia ; left part of his army in Sicily ; and, during his residence in many other parts, visibly, behaved himself with great humanity, he acquired the voluntary affection of those people, and, for that reason, was honoured, after his death, with temples, and monuments in many places : What cause, then, can be assigned for the monuments erected to him in Italy, if he never reigned in those parts, resided there, or was, intirely, unknown to the inhabitants ? But this point shall be, again, discussed, and made manifest, as often as the occasion shall require it.

LV. The reason why the Trojan fleet sailed no further into Europe, is to be attributed to the oracles, which were fulfilled in these parts, and to the will of Heaven, many ways, revealed to them. For, while their fleet lay at anchor off Laurentum, and they were incamped near the shore, first, the men, being oppressed with thirst, and there being no water in the place, (what I say, I had from the inhabitants) springs of the sweetest water were seen rising out of the earth spontaneously, of which all the army drank, and the place was overflowed, till the stream ran down to the sea from the springs, which, at this time, are not so high as to overflow ; but there is a little water, contained in a hollow place, which the inhabitants say is consecrated to the sun ; and, near it, two altars are to be seen, one to the east, the other to the west ; both of Trojan structure ; upon which,

which, they say, Aeneas offered up his first sacrifice to the god in acknowledgement for the water. After that, while they were at dinner upon the ground, many of them strewed parsley under their victuals, instead of a table; but, others say, they made use of wheaten cakes, that they might eat with greater cleanliness: When all the victuals, that were laid before them, were eaten, one of them eat of the parsley, or cakes, that were laid under their victuals, and then another; and one of Aeneas's sons, as it is said, or, some other of the company, happened to say, Behold, we have eaten even the table! As soon as they heard this, they all cried out, ¹⁸⁸ with joy, that the first part of the oracle was, now, fulfilled. For, a certain oracle had been delivered to them, as some say, in Dodona; but, as others write, in Erythrae, a town near mount Ida, where lived a ¹⁸⁹ Sibyl of that coun-

^{188.} *Ανεθορυβησαν*. *Θορυβεῖν* does not, always, signify *to act disorderly*, as it is generally, supposed: It, sometimes, signifies, *to applaud*: A remarkable instance of which we find in ^v Demosthenes; *ταῦτα ἀκασάντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβήσαντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λεγέσθαι*.

^{189.} *Σιβυλλὰ*. This Erythraean Sibyl is much celebrated by many authors, both ancient and modern, who have abused their leisure in transmitting the impostures of one age to the credulity of the next. Of all the etymologies of the word Sibylla, That, given by Servius, seems to come nearest the truth; ^w he says the name is derived from *Σιος βελή*, *the decree of Jupiter*, of which, it seems, these ladies were

the interpreters. It is certain, that, in the Aeolic, or Doric dialect, *σιος* is *διος*; from whence came the oath, so much used by the Lacedaemonians; who spoke the Doric dialect, *μα τῷ Σίῳ*; by which they meant the two brother gods, Castor, and Pollux. This very extraordinary prophecy, that the Trojans were to rest from their labors in the place, where they should eat their tables, ^x Virgil, who would omit no tradition, which had any thing marvellous in it, puts into the mouth of the Harpy, who, we find, was, also, a prophetess,

*Sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
Quam vos dira fames nostraeque injuria caedis
Ambefas subigat malis consumere mensas.*

^v Philip. 2^d.

^w On the third book, Aeneid. *γ*. 452.

^x Aeneid. B. iii. *γ*. 255.

try, a prophetic nymph, who ordered them to sail westward till they came to a place, where they should eat the tables: And, when they found this had happened, they should follow a quadruped, as their guide; and, wherever the animal, spent with fatigue, laid itself down, there they should build a city. Calling to mind, therefore, this prophecy, some, by the order of Aeneas, brought to the place, appointed by him, the images of the gods out of the ship; others prepared ¹⁹⁰ pedestals, and altars for them; and the women with shouts, and dancing, accompanied the images: And Aeneas, with his companions, when the sacrifice was ready, stood round the altar with crowns on their heads.

LVI. While these were offering up their prayers, the sow, which was the destined victim, being big with young, and near her time, when the priests were ¹⁹¹ beginning the immolation, broke loose, and, flying from those who held her, ran up into the country. Aeneas, understanding this was, certainly, the guide the oracle had pointed out, followed it, with a few of his people, at a small distance, fearing lest,

This prophecy, which seemed to threaten so dreadful a famine, ^y he solves, also, in the same harmless manner with our author;

*Heus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.
Nec plura alludens: ea vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem.*

¹⁹⁰. Βάθρα. This is the proper Greek word for *pedestals*; and, in this sense, it is used by ^z Herodotus, who, speaking of the persons sent from Athens

to Aegina to bring away the statues of Damia, and Auxesia, says they endeavoured to take them from their pedestals, τα ἀγαλμάτια ταῦτα πείραν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἐξανασπᾶν. Le Jay seems not to have liked the word; for which reason, he has left it out. The other French translator has said *des marche-pieds*, which is not the term in his language. Why not *des piédestaux*?

¹⁹¹. Καταρχομένων. See the 124th annotation.

^y Aeneid. B. vii. v. 116;

^z In Terpsich. c. 85.

being

disturbed by her pursuers, she might be frightened from the course fate had prescribed to her. The sow, having gone about four and twenty stadia from the sea, ran up a hill, where, being tired, she lay down. But Aeneas (for the oracles seemed, now, to be fulfilled) observing the land to be barren, and at a distance from the sea, where, even, the road was unsafe, found himself in great perplexity whether they ought, in obedience to the oracle, to settle there, where they were to lead a life of perpetual misery, without any enjoyment, or go further, in search of a better soil. While he was in this consideration, accusing the gods, on a sudden, they say, he heard a voice, which came from a wood, the person, who uttered it, not appearing, by which he was commanded to stay there, and build a city, immediately; and not, by giving way to the uncertainty of his present opinion that he was going to settle in a barren country, to reject his future, and, in a manner, present happiness: For, it was decreed, that, issuing forth from this barren and small habitation, he should, in process of time, acquire a spacious and fertile country; and that his children, and posterity should be masters of a vast empire, which should last for many ages; that, for the present, therefore, this city should be a retreat for the Trojans; but that, after as many years, as the sow should bring forth young ones, another large and flourishing city should be built by his posterity. It is said, that Aeneas, hearing this, and looking upon the voice as something divine, did, as the god had commanded. But, others say, that, while he was oppressed with anxiety, and

had so far abandoned himself to grief, as neither to come into the camp, nor take any nourishment, but laying himself down to rest that night, where it overtook him, a great and wonderful phantom appeared to him in ¹⁹² his sleep, in the shape of one of his household gods, and gave him the advice, just before, mentioned. Which of these accounts is the truest, the gods, only, know. The next day, it is said, the sow brought forth ¹⁹³ thirty young ones; and that, according to the oracle, as many years after, another city was built by the Trojans, concerning which I shall speak in a proper place.

LVII. Aeneas sacrificed the sow, with her young, to his household gods, in the place, where, now, stands the ¹⁹⁴ wooden hut, which the Lavinienſes look upon as holy, and preserve it inaccessible to all but themselves: Then, ordering the Trojans to remove their camp to the hill, he placed the images of his gods in the best part of it; and, immediately, began to build the town with the greatest alacrity; and, going down to the country round him, took

¹⁹². ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΝ. This word is, here, taken adverbially, as in the following verse of ^a Homer:

Κλυΐε, φίλοι, θεός μοι ενυπνίου ηλθεν ονειρος.

¹⁹³. Τριᾶκοῦα λεγέαι χοίρες, etc. This prophecy, ^b Virgil, who, like our author, had, no doubt, met with it in the old Roman historians, makes the river Tiber deliver to Aeneas;

*Jamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum,
Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus,
Triginta caputū foetus enixa, jacebit;
Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.*

^a Il. β. ψ. 56.

*Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum:
Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.*

¹⁹⁴. Καλίας. I know this word, sometimes, signifies *a chapel*, but, oftener, *a wooden hut*, from καλον, wood. Portus, and M. *** have given it the former sense; le Jay has said *une petite retraite*, which is something like the sense. Sylburgius is the only one, who has rendered it properly, *casa lignea*. If it had been a chapel, our author needed not to have said that it was looked upon as holy.

^b Aeneid. B. viii. ψ. 42.

from

from thence such things, as were of use to him in building, the loss of which was likely to be the most grievous to the owners, such as iron, timber, and instruments of agriculture. In the mean time, Latinus, who was, then, king of the country, being at war with a neighbouring people, called the Rutuli; and, having fought some battles with ill success, received an account of what had passed, in the most terrifying manner, as, that all his coast was laid waste by a foreign army; and, if he did not, immediately, put a stop to their depredations, the war, with his neighbours, would become more grievous to him. Latinus was struck with this news; and, laying aside all thoughts of the present war, he marched against the Trojans with a great army: But, seeing them armed after the Grecian manner, drawn up in good order, and prepared to receive him with resolution, he did not think it prudent to hazard an immediate engagement; since he saw no probability of defeating them at the first onset,¹⁹⁵ as he had expected, when he first marched out against them: But, incamping on a hill, he found it convenient to recover his troops from their present fatigue, which, from the length of their march, and the eagerness of the pursuit, was very great: And he resolved, after he had passed the night there, to attack the enemy by break of day. Having taken this resolution, a certain genius of the place, appearing to him in his sleep, ordered him to receive the Greeks, as cohabitants with his own subjects; adding that their ar-

¹⁹⁵ Καθ' ἣν ἐσχε δόξαν. The Vatican manuscript has, wonderfully, restored this sentence, which is very imperfect in all the editions.

rival would be attended with a great advantage to him, and a common benefit to the Aborigines. The same night, Aeneas's household gods, appearing to him, advised him to persuade Latinus to grant them a settlement, of his own accord, in that part of the country they desired, and, to use the Greek forces, rather as allies, than as enemies. However, the dream hindered both of them from beginning an engagement. As soon as it was day, and the armies were drawn up in order of battle, heralds came to the commanders from both, desiring that these might have a conference together; which was complied with.

LVIII. And, first, Latinus complained “ of the sudden
“ war, they had made upon his subjects, without any pre-
“ vious declaration; and desired Aeneas would let him know
“ who he was, and what he meant by ¹⁹⁶plundering the
“ country, without any provocation, since he could not be
“ ignorant that all, who are attacked, have a right to repel
“ the invader: And, that, when he might have obtained, in
“ a friendly manner, and by the consent of the inhabitants,
“ whatever he could, reasonably, desire, he had chosen to
“ take it by force, contrary to the right of all nations, and
“ with greater dishonor, than credit to himself.” After
he had said this, Aeneas answered; “ We are natives of

¹⁹⁶. *Ἀγει καὶ φέρει τὰ χωρία*. The Latin translators have rendered this, very properly, by *agere et ferre*, which, like many other Latin expressions, is, originally, derived from the Greek. *Des actes d'hostilité qu'on avoit exercez*, in le Jay, I think is scarce strong

enough. Neither do I think that *piller ses terres*, in the other French translator, though better far than the other, expresses *Ἀγει καὶ φέρει* so well as the expression our language has supplied me with.

“ Troy,

“Troy, a city famous among the ¹⁹⁷ Greeks; of which

¹⁹⁷ ΕΝ ΕΛΛΗΣΙ. M. * * *, in his note upon this passage, blames our author, violently, for making Aeneas call the Greeks ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ, which name, he says, the people of Greece were not known by till many ages after the Trojan war; and, even, not so early as in That, in which Homer lived, who never calls all the Greeks ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ, but only gives that name to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, who followed Achilles to Troy. I have read what ^c Thucydides, and ^d Strabo have said upon this subject; but I do not think the arguments, alledged by the latter, so conclusive as others, that may be drawn from chronology, to prove that the Greeks, in general, were known by the name of ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ many years, nay, some ages, not only, before Homer, but, even, before the Trojan war. But I must, previously, observe that, if the censure, thrown upon our author by that gentleman, is well grounded, Virgil is, also, included in it; since he calls Achaemenides, *Graius*, in the same period of time, in which, Aeneas, in our author, calls the Greeks ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ^e;

Confertum tegmen spinis: at caetera Graius.

I am very sensible, that ^f Homer, when he says,

Οι τ' εἶχον Φθίην, ἣδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγυναικα,
Μυρμιδόνος δ' ἐκαλῆτο, καὶ Ἑλλήνες, καὶ Ἀχαιοί,

means only the inhabitants of Theffaly; but I am not so clear that, when he ^g says,

Ἀνδρὸς τε κλειῶς εὐρυ κατ' Ἑλλάδα, καὶ μεσση Ἀργος,

he means any particular country, or city of Theffaly; because, when he

speaks of the city of Argos, that was built by Pelasgus in Theffaly, he distinguishes it by the name of Πελασγικὸν Ἀργος, as ^h

ὅσσοι το Πελασγικὸν Ἀργος ἐναιον.

in which, he has been followed by the geographers. But I shall leave conjectures to those, who want arguments. I have undertaken to prove that the general name of the Greeks was ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ many years before the Trojan war; and, consequently, that our author was guilty of no anachronism, nor deserved censure for calling them so. In the sixth epocha of the Parian marble, the time is mentioned, when Hellen, the son of Deucalion, reigned in Phthiotis; and the Greeks, who had, till then, been known by the name of Γεαικοί, were called ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ. The year, there set down, is 1257. In the 25th epocha, the taking of Troy is mentioned, and the year, set down, is 945. If, therefore, from 1257, we deduct 945, it will be found that the people of Greece were called ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ, 312 years before the taking of Troy. This is confirmed by the most celebrated chronologers; who all agree that Troy was taken in the 3530th year of the Julian ⁱ period, 1184 years before Christ; and that the flood, in the time of Deucalion, happened 1529 years before ^k Christ, and in the 3185th year of the Julian period: So that, the interval, between the flood of Deucalion, the father of Hellen, and the taking of Troy, must, according to them, consist of 345 years..

^c B. i. c. 3.

^d B. viii. p. 568.

^e Aeneid. B. iii. v. 594.

^f Iliad. β. v. 498.

^g Odyss. α. v. 344.

^h Iliad. β. v. 681.

ⁱ Usher, p. 26.

^k Petavius, B. i. c. 11. and 7.

“being

“ being deprived by the Achaeans, after a ten years war,
 “ we wander up and down, through the want both of a
 “ city, and a country, where we may live for the future; and
 “ are come hither, in obedience to the commands of the
 “ gods: The oracles assuring us that this land alone is re-
 “ served for us, as the haven of our wandering. We have,
 “ ¹⁹⁸ lately, taken from the country those things we wanted,
 “ with greater regard, indeed, to our ¹⁹⁹ unfortunate situation,
 “ than to decency, which we very much condemn: But we
 “ will compensate them with many good services, in yielding
 “ to you our persons, and our minds, well disciplined against
 “ dangers, to employ them as you think proper, in preserving
 “ your country from the inroads of enemies, and in assisting

¹⁹⁸. Νεωσι. This word must, certainly, have been misplaced by the transcribers; and I make no doubt but our author writes *εποριζομεθα μεν νεωσι*, etc. to which *αμειψομεθα δε*, in the next sentence, answers very fully.

¹⁹⁹. Δυσυχεσερον μαλλον η ευπρεπεσερον. This is opposed to *αισχιον μαλλον η καλλιον*, with which Latinus had reproached Aeneas. But here is an uncommon expression, that, very well, deserved the observation of the commentators; and, that is, the use of *μαλλον* with a comparative: However, I have met with it in the best writers; one instance of which I shall quote from Demosthenes, with whose manner of writing our author shews, by his critical works, that he was, perfectly well, acquainted. That great orator reproaches the Athenians with having

made it dangerous to give them good advice; the consequence of which, he tells them, will be, that, whoever gave them such advice, would, not only, suffer, unjustly, himself without doing them any service, but, also, render it, for the future, still more dangerous to propose such things to them, as were most for their advantage, ¹ *αλλα και εις το λοιπον ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ει η νυν το τα βελισα λεγειν ΦΟΒΕΡΩΤΕΡΟΝ ποιησαι*. It is very extraordinary that the Latin writers should imitate the Greeks in this uncommon manner of speaking; but so it is, and many instances might be given of this also; I shall content myself with one from ^m Justin, who, speaking of Lycurgus, says, *non in-ventione earum (legum) magis quam ex-emplo clarior*.

¹ Olynth. i.

^m B. iii. c. 2.

“ you

“ you, with alacrity, to conquer theirs. We, humbly, intreat
 “ you not to repent what we have done, assuring yourselves,
 “ that we did it not through contempt, but necessity : And
 “ ²⁰⁰ every thing, that is involuntary, deserves forgiveness :
 “ So that, you ²⁰¹ ought not to take any resolution to the
 “ prejudice of us, who are your suppliants : If you should,
 “ we must beg the tutelary gods, and genius’s of this country
 “ to forgive us what we are, even, compelled to do ; and
 “ endeavour to defend ourselves against you, who are the
 “ aggressors in this war ; which will not be the first, nor the
 “ greatest we have been ²⁰² engaged in. When Latinus
 heard this, he made answer ; “ I can assure you, I have
 “ great benevolence towards the Greek nation, in general ;
 “ and the inevitable calamities of mankind give me a real
 “ concern : I should be very solicitous for your preservation,
 “ if I were convinced that you came hither in search of a
 “ habitation ; and, that, ²⁰³ contented with a share of the
 “ land, and injoying what is given you, in a friendly manner,

²⁰⁰. Απαν δε συγνωμης αξιον το ακεσιον.
 Our author, often, adopts the ethics of
 ὁ Aristotle, who says, εν μεν τοις εκεσιοις
 επαινων, και φογων γινομενων, εν δε τοις
 ακεσιοις συγνωμης.

²⁰¹. Και δε υμας, etc. The Latin
 translators, and commentators have
 been, very much, puzzled to clear up
 this period : I imagine none of them
 had seen the Vatican manuscript.

²⁰². Απολαυσαιμεν. Απολαυει, ουκ επι
 των ηδεων των μονον, αλλα και επι των
 ανηλων τατλσει. Suidas.

²⁰³. Εν αποχρησει τε γης μοιρας. I
 have never met with αποχρησις, or
 αποχρωσις, as the Vatican manuscript
 has it, in any author, or lexicon, in
 this sense ; for which reason, I shall
 venture to make a small alteration in
 the text, or, rather to restore it, as, I
 believe, our author writ it, αποχρησσο-
 μένοι τε γης μοιρας : Every one, who has
 read Herodotus, must have found
 αποχρασθαι, more than once, made use
 of to signify what is meant here, that
 is, to be contented.

“ you will not endeavour, by force, to deprive me of the
“ sovereignty; and, if the assurances you give me, are real,
“ I desire to give, and take sureties, which will preserve our
“ league inviolate.”

LIX. Aeneas, having accepted this proposal, a treaty was made between the two nations, and confirmed by oath, to this effect; that the Aborigines should grant to the Trojans as much land as they desired, that is, the space of about forty stadia round the hill; that the Trojans should assist the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in, and join them with their forces, upon every other occasion, when summoned; and that both nations should aid one another, to the utmost of their power, as well with their assistance, as advice. After they had concluded this treaty, and secured the performance of it, by delivering their children as hostages, they marched, with joint forces, against the cities of the Rutuli: And, having soon subdued all opposition there, they went to the town of the Trojans, which was half finished; and, hastening the work with one mind, they fortified the town with a wall. This town Aeneas called Lavinium, as the Romans themselves say, from the daughter of Latinus, whose name, according to them, was Lavinia; but, as some Greek historians have asserted, from the daughter of Anius, king of Delus, whose name was, also, Lavinia; and who, dying of sickness, while the first city was building, and being buried in the place where she died, the city was so called, in memory of her. She is said, also, to have embarked with the Trojans, and to have been given by
her

her father to Aeneas, at his desire, as a prophetess, and a wise woman. While Lavinium was building, these prodigies are said to have happened to the Trojans. A fire breaking out, spontaneously, in an adjoining wood, a wolf, they say, brought some fuel in his mouth, and threw it upon the fire; and an eagle, flying thither, fanned the flame with the motion of his wings: In opposition to these, a fox, having moistened his tail in a river, endeavoured to extinguish the fire; and, sometimes, those, that were kindling it, prevailed; and, sometimes, the fox, that was trying to put it out: And, at last, the former got the better, and the other went away, unable to do any thing further. Which, Aeneas, observing, said, this colony would become famous, be worthy of admiration, and very much celebrated; but, in its increase, would be envied by, and grievous to, its neighbours: However, that it would overcome its adversaries; the favor of Heaven being more powerful to support it, than the envy of men to oppose it. These were the evident signs of the incidents, that were to happen to this city: Of which there are monuments, now, standing in the market-place of the Lavinienſes; these are brazen images of the animals, which have been preserved for many ages.

LX. After the city of the Trojans was built, both nations were, extremely, desirous of injoying the mutual benefit of their new alliance: And their kings set the example, and mixed the dignity of the native and foreign families by a contract of marriage, Latinus giving his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas: After which, the rest, also, had the same in-

clination with their kings ; and, by a swift union of their customs, their laws, and religious ceremonies ; by intermarriages, and a communication of the rights of their cities ; by mingling all together, and by calling themselves Latines, from Latinus, king of the Aborigines, they adhered so firmly to their league, that no time has, yet, severed them from one another. The nations, therefore, which were gathered together under one form of government, and from whom the Roman people derive their origin, before the city they, now, inhabit, was built, are these : First, the Aborigines, who drove the Siceli out of these parts, and were Greeks, originally, of Peloponnesus, the same, who, with Oenotrus, removed from the country, now, called Arcadia, according to my opinion : Then, the Pelasgi, who came from ²⁰⁴ Haemonia, as it was, then, called, now, Thef-

²⁰⁴ Αἰμωνίας. See the 51st annotation. I do not think that a translator is under the same obligation with regard to his author, as the lawyers seem to think themselves under in relation to their clients ; that is, that he is to defend him right, or wrong. Dionysius is going to prove that the Trojans were, originally, Greeks, in which he is justified by historians of the best authority ; but I doubt much whether that will justify him in saying, as he did a few pages before, that the Trojans were armed after the manner of the Greeks ; and, much less, in making Evander tell Aeneas that he had a great affection for all the Greeks, even, after the latter had informed him that they were Trojans. I do not, indeed, re-

member any passage in Homer, which shews that the Greeks, and Trojans were armed after a different manner ; but he describes them as going to the charge under very different circumstances ; the first advancing with a confused noise, like cranes going to make war upon the Pygmies ; and the other in silence breathing ardor, and a resolution to support one another ° ;

Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγὴ τ', ἐνοπὴ τ' ἴσαν, ὀρνίθες ὥς.
Οἱ δ' αἶσα ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνειονίης Ἀχαιοί,
Ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισι.

I believe no general would desire that his men should go on to an attack with a truer spirit than Homer has here described.

faly: Thirdly, those, who came over into Italy with Evander, from the city of Pallantium: After these, the Epei, and Pheneatae; who were part of the Peloponnesian army, commanded by Hercules, with whom some Trojans, also, were mixed: And, last of all, the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, had escaped from Ilium, Dardanium, and the other Trojan cities.

LXI. That the Trojans were a nation, truly Greek, which, formerly, came from Peloponnesus, has been, long since, asserted by some authors, and shall be, briefly, related by me also. The account concerning them is this. Atlas was the first king of the country, now, called Arcadia, who lived near the mountain, called ²⁰⁵ Thaumafius: This man had seven daughters, said to be placed among the stars, by the name of the Plëiades; one of whom Jupiter married, and had by her two sons, ²⁰⁶ Jafius, and Dardanus: Jafius lived unmarried: But Dardanus married Chryses, the daughter of Palas, by whom he had two sons, Idæus, and Dimas, who, succeeding Atlas in the kingdom, reigned some time in Arcadia. Afterwards, a great deluge happening in Arcadia, the plains were overflowed, and, for a long time, incapable of being tilled. The people (for, as they lived upon the

²⁰⁵ Θαυμασιον ορος. This is shewn by Glareanus to be the true reading, because Pausanias speaks of a mountain of that name in Arcadia. This mountain, I find, ^p Pausanias says stood near the river Moloffus; and on the top of it, there was a cavern consecrated to Rhea, into which none but

her priestesses were suffered to enter.

²⁰⁶ Ιασίων. This must be the true reading; which is confirmed by ^q Virgil.

hinc Dardanus ortus,

Iäfusque pater.

He is, also, called Ιασίων by ^r Strabo.

^p In Arcad. c. 36. ^q Aeneid. B. iii. v. 167. ^r Epit. B. vii. p. 511.

mountains, they laboured under a great scarcity of provisions) considering that the land, that remained, would not be sufficient for the support of them all, they divided themselves into two parts; one of which staid in Arcadia, and created Dimas, the son of Dardanus, their king; the other, left Peloponnesus on board a numerous fleet; and, sailing along the coast of Europe, they came to a gulph, called ²⁰⁷ Melas, and happened to land on a certain island of Thracia, but I am not able to say whether it was, before, inhabited, or desert: They called this island, Samothrace, a name, compounded of the name of a man, and of That of the place; for it belongs to Thrace, and the founder of it was Samon, the son of Mercury, and of a nymph of Cyllene, called Rhene: Here, they staid not long, because they found themselves under great difficulties with regard to their support, as having a barren land, and a boisterous sea to contend with; but, leaving some few of their people there, the greatest part of them, removing again, went to Asia, Dardanus being the leader of their colony, (for Jasius died in the island, being struck with thunder, for desiring to go to bed with Ceres) and, disembarking in the streight, now, called the Hellespont, they settled in that country, which was, afterwards, named Phrygia. Idæus, the son of Dardanus, with part of the army, inhabited the mountains, which, from

²⁰⁷ Εἰς τὸν Μελανα κόλπον. The gulph Melas lies on the north west of the Thracian Chersonesus: And the island of Samothrace, now called *Samandraki*, is at the entrance of this gulph, op-

posite to the mouth of the Hebrus, known, now, by the name of *la Marisa*.

^s Strabo gives the same account of Dardanus, and Jasion, and adds that Samothrace was, before, called Samos.

^s Epit. B. vii. p. 511.

him,

him, are called the Idaean mountains, where he built a temple to the mother of the gods, and instituted mysteries and ceremonies, which are observed, to this day, throughout all Phrygia; and Dardanus built a city of the same name with himself, in a country, now, called Troas, Teucus, who was king of it, giving him the land, from whom, that country was, anciently, named Teucris. Many authors say, and, particularly, Phanodemus, who writ the Attic antiquities, that this man came into Asia, from Attica, where he was chief of the division, called ²⁰⁸ Xypete; and of this they bring many proofs: They add that, being master of a large and fertile country, and but, thinly, peopled, he was glad to see Dardanus, and the Greeks, who came with him, in hopes both of their assistance in his wars against the Barbarians, and that the land might not be uncultivated.

^{208.} *Ευπέλης*. This is, certainly, the true reading, and the name of this division of the tribe of Cecropis, as we find in Harpocration; though it is otherwise in all the editions, and manuscripts, and, also, in Suidas, who calls this division of that tribe, *Ευπέλαιη*. But there is a passage in Strabo, which, though faulty in another respect, will lead us to the true reading in this. Strabo speaks there of this very migration of Teucer from Attica to Asia; and says, *αλλοι δ' εκ της Αττικής αφιχθαι τινα Τευκρον φασιν εκ δημοσ Τρωων, ος νυν ο Ευπέλων λεγεται*. Casaubon, in his note upon this passage of Strabo, was sensible that the word *Τρωων* was more

than suspicious; and, therefore, changed it into *Τινος*; and, to support his correction, quotes this very passage of our author, which he has accommodated to the words of Strabo, as he took them, and made our author say *δημος Ευπέλωνος*, supposing that *Ευπέλων*, in the former, was the name of this division of the tribe of Cecropis: But that great man was mistaken in this, as we have seen by Harpocration; who, in *Ευπέλαιωνες*, says, also, that this was the name of the individuals of that division. Phanodemus, whom our author quotes upon this occasion, is, often, cited by other authors, but that is all we know of him.

¹ B. xiii. p. 901.

LXII. But, it is, now, requisite to shew how Aeneas was descended; which I shall do, also, in few words. Dardanus, after the death of Chryses, the daughter of Palas, by whom he had his two first sons, married Batea, the daughter of Teucrus; and, by her, had Erichthonius, who is said to have been the most fortunate of all men, having inherited both the kingdom of his father, and That of his grandfather by his mother's side. Of Erichthonius, and Callirhoe, the daughter of Scamandrus, was born Tros, from whom the nation has received its name; of Tros, and Acallaris, the daughter of Eumedes, Assaracus; of him, and Lytodora, the daughter of Laomedon, Capys; of Capys, and a nymph, said to have been a Naïd, Anchises; of Anchises, and Venus, Aeneas. Thus, I have shewn that the royal family of the Trojans, were, originally, Greeks.

LXIII. Concerning the time, when Lavinium was built, there are different opinions; but the most probable seems to be That, which ²⁰⁹ places it in the second year after the departure of the Trojans from Troy: For ²¹⁰ Ilium was

²⁰⁹. Φερουλες αὐλην. Casaubon has shewn, from very good authorities, that φερειν is a term, particularly used by chronologers, in the sense our author has given it in this place.

²¹⁰. Ιλιον μεν γαρ ἤλω τελευτήσας ἤδη τῷ εαρος. Thus, I am confident this passage ought to be read, contrary to the opinion of Portus, and of Dodwell, who contend for θερος, in which they are followed by M. * * *; and, also, contrary to the opinion of Sylburgius, who, would have it ενιαυτος, which read-

ing le Jay has followed. However, I have the satisfaction of finding myself supported in reading εαρος against these great authorities, by a much greater, I mean That of Casaubon, and Petavius. But, before I give my reasons for reading εαρος instead of θερος, I must take notice of the glaring absurdity in saying, with M. * * *, that Troy was taken on the twelfth of June *towards the end of summer*. It is well known that the year of the Greeks was luni-solar, and that the Athenians, whose

taken

taken at the end of the spring, seventeen days before the summer solstice, and the eighth of the ending month Thargelion, according to the computation of the Athenians; there still remaining twenty days, after the solstice, to complete that year. The first seven and thirty days after the taking of Troy, I imagine, the Greeks employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embassies from those, who had withdrawn themselves, and in concluding a

computation our author says he follows, by the direction of Solon, assigned twenty nine, and thirty days, alternately, to their twelve months; by which, it happened, that there was, every year, a deficiency of eleven days between their year, and the solar year^u: To supply this deficiency, Meton, afterwards, found out the cycle of intercalating seven months in nineteen years. Solon, also, introduced, among the Athenians, the method of counting the ten last days of the month backwards, and called the thirtieth day *ἐν καὶ νεα*, *the old and new*: The reason of which, I imagine to have been, because the new moon becoming visible only in the evening of that day, part of it was thought to belong to the old month, and part of it to the new. Dionysius says that Troy was taken on the eighth day of the ending month Thargelion, that is, the twenty third; seventeen days before the summer solstice, after which, there wanted twenty days to complete that year. Let us, now, see how this account agrees with the course of the sun, and moon, that memorable year. The new moon, and, consequently, the first day of the Attic

month Thargelion, fell out, that year, on the twenty first of May, and the summer solstice on the twenty eighth of June^w: So that, the twenty third of Thargelion was the twelfth of June, which, as our author says, was seventeen days, that is, inclusively, before the summer solstice: And, from the twenty eighth of June, to the nineteenth of July, on which day, the new moon of their month Hecatombaeon fell out, there are twenty days, which he, also, says, remained to complete the year: For, it must be observed that the Athenians began their year on the first new moon after the summer solstice. The aera of the taking of Troy being, thus determined, it will be no difficult matter to find the number of years from that aera, to this present year 1755. Dionysius will tell us from Cato that Rome was built 432 years after the taking of Troy: From thence, to the birth of Christ, are 753 years; to which, if we add 1755, there will be found 2940 years from the twelfth of June, on which Troy was taken, to the twelfth of June of this present year.

^u Sir Isaac Newton. Chron. p. 75 and 76.

^w Petavius, B. ii. c. 10. part iii.

treaty with them. The next year, which was the first after the taking of the city, the Trojans, setting sail about the autumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont; and, landing in Thrace, passed the winter season there; during which, they received the fugitives, who were, continually, flocking to them, and prepared every thing, that was necessary for their voyage: And, leaving Thrace, in the beginning of the spring, they sailed as far as Sicily. While they staid there, that year was accomplished; and they passed the second winter in assisting the Elymi to build cities in Sicily. They set sail from that island, as soon as the season would allow it; and, crossing the Tyrrhene sea, arrived, at last, at Laurentum, on the coast of the Aborigines, in the middle of the summer: And, having received the ground from them, they built Lavinium; the second year from the taking of Troy, being, now, completed. And this is my opinion concerning these events.

LXIV. Aeneas, having, sufficiently, furnished the city, with temples, and other ornaments, of which the greatest part remain, even, to this day, he, the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, reigned over the Trojans only: But the fourth year, Latinus being dead, he succeeded him in his kingdom also; not only in consideration of his near alliance to him, Lavinia being sole ²¹¹ heirefs,

²¹¹. *Επικληρος*. The sense of this word is, very well, explained by Harpocration. *Επικληρος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ κληρῷ οὐφάνη καὶ ἀλελειμμένη, μὴ οὐτος*

αὐτῇ ἀδελφῷ ἢ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπικληρίῃς. In this sense, also, * Virgil makes Drances say to Turnus,
si adeò dotalis regia cordi est.

* Aeneid. B. xi. v. 369.

after the death of Latinus, but, also, by reason of his being general of the army, in the war against their neighbours: For the Rutuli had, again, revolted from Latinus, and made choice of a certain deserter for their leader, who was a relation of Amata, the wife of Latinus, and whose name was Turnus. This man, exasperated at the father-in-law of Aeneas, for marrying his daughter to a stranger, in prejudice to his relations, and, being incited by ²¹² Amata, and encouraged by others, went over to the Rutuli with the forces he commanded. The war being begun upon these complaints, and a sharp battle ensuing, Latinus, Turnus, and many others were slain. However, Aeneas, and his people, gained the victory: Upon which, Aeneas succeeded his father-in-law in his kingdom: And, having reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth, he lost his life in a battle: For the Rutuli, raising an army composed of the joint forces of all their cities, marched against him; and, with them, Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians, who thought his own country in danger. For the great increase of the Grecian power had, long since, given him offence: And a severe battle being fought, not far from Lavinium, and many slain on both sides, the armies were parted by the coming on of the night, and the body of Aeneas, nowhere, appearing, some concluded that he was translated among the gods, and others, that he perished in the river,

²¹² *Ἀμάνη Τυρρηνός*. This passage shews that Amata, and Turnus, in Virgil, are not imaginary persons, but taken

from the Roman historians, whose works are, now, lost.

near which the battle was fought: And the Latines built a chapel to him with this inscription: “²¹³ To the father, “ and god of this country, who presides over the waters of “ the river Numicius.” But some say this chapel was erected, by Aeneas, to Anchises, who died the year before this war: It is a small mound, surrounded with trees, regularly, planted, and deserves to be seen.

LXV. Aeneas having left this life, about the seventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who, in the flight, had changed his name to That of Ascanius, succeeded him in the government of the Latines: As for the Trojans, they were, at that time, besieged, the forces of the enemy increasing daily; and the Latines were unable to assist those, who were shut up in Lavinium. Ascanius, therefore, first, invited the enemy to a friendly and reasonable accommodation: But they, paying no regard to him, he was reduced to the necessity of suffering them to put an end to the war upon their own terms. But the king of the Tyrrhenians, among other intolerable conditions, which he imposed upon them, as upon a people, already, become his slaves, commanding them to carry to the Tyrrhenians, every year, all the wine, the country of the Latines produced, they looked upon this, as a thing not to be borne, and, by the advice of

²¹³ Παῖς, etc. * Livy speaks, also, of this apotheosis, or canonization of Aeneas; *Situs est, quemcunque eum dici jus fasque est, super Numicium flumen, Jovem Indigetem appellant.* It was, it seems, the fashion for these gentlemen,

who were canonized, to change their names; as the popes, who call themselves Christ's vicegerents, generally, change their names upon their elevation to the papacy.

Ascanius, voted the fruit of the vine to be sacred to Jupiter; then, exhorting one another to fight bravely, and praying the gods to assist them in their dangerous enterprize, they pitched upon a dark night, and sallied out of the city: And, immediately, attacked that part of the enemy's camp, which lay nearest to the city, and, being designed as an advanced post to cover the rest of the army, was strongly situated, and defended by the choicest youth of the Tyrrhenians, who were commanded by Laufus, the son of Mezentius: Their attack, being unforeseen, they, easily, made themselves masters of the place: While they were employed in taking this post, the rest of the army, that lay incamped on the plains, seeing an unseasonable light, and, hearing the groans of those, who were killing, left the flat country, and fled to the mountains: Upon this occasion, there was a great hurry, and tumult, their army marching away in the night, and expecting the enemy would, every minute, fall upon them, while they were in disorder, and their ranks broken. The Latines, after they had taken the place by storm, and heard the rest of the army was in disorder, pressed upon them, killing, and pursuing; while the enemy were so far from endeavouring to defend themselves, that it was not, even, possible for them to know the evils they were surrounded with; but, through confusion, and irresolution, some were forced down the precipices, and dashed to pieces; while others, engaging themselves in unpassable vallies, were taken prisoners: But most of them, through ignorance, treated one another, in the dark, like enemies; and the greatest de-

struction of them was occasioned by mutual slaughter. In the mean time, Mezentius, with a few of his men, possessed himself of a hill; and, being informed of the death of his son, and of the numbers he had lost; and, finding how untenable the place was, in which he had shut himself up, having no other resource, he sent heralds to Lavinium to treat of a peace: And Ascanius, advising the Latines to ²¹⁴ use their fortune with moderation, he obtained liberty to retire in safety with his forces, in consequence of the treaty they concluded; and, from that time, laying aside all enmity to the Latines, he continued their constant friend.

LXVI. The thirtieth year after the building of Lavinium, Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, according to the oracle, given to his father, built another city, and transferred both the inhabitants of Lavinium, and the other Latines, who were desirous of a better habitation, to his new-built city, which he called ²¹⁵ Alba, which word signifies, in Greek, Λευκη,

²¹⁴. Ταμινεσθαι την τυχην. This is a very happy expression, and used, more than once, by our author. There is a passage in the eighth book of this history, which is quoted by ² Suidas not so much, I dare say, for the sentiment, which most deserves it, as for the expression; Σωφρονων εστιν ανθρωπων, οταν ευπρατειν δοκωσι, ταμινεσθαι τας τυχας· οταν δ' εις ταπεινας, και φανλας ελθωσι, μηθεν υπομενεν αγεννες. As this is translated in its proper place, I shall only give the sense of it here; *It is the part of wise men, when in prosperity, to use it with moderation; and, when in*

adversity, to submit to nothing, that is mean.

²¹⁵. Αλβα. It is, generally, thought that *Alba longa* stood in the same place, where *Albano* now stands; and, what is more extraordinary, ² Cluver says that the inhabitants of Albano were so fully persuaded of this, that they placed over the gate, that leads to Rome, a stone, on which was represented the sow with her thirty young ones. However, this great geographer has, plainly, proved from Livy, Cicero, and our author, that *Alba longa* stood two Roman miles to the east of

² c. 48.

² Ital. Antiq. B. iii. p. 201.

White: And, to distinguish it from another city of the same name, an epithet was added to it, taken from its figure; and it is, now, called *Alba longa*, a name compounded of both, that is, *Λευκη μακρα*. This city is, now uninhabited. For, when Tullus Hostilius was king of the Romans, she, seeming to contend with her colony for the sovereignty, was demolished; and Rome, having destroyed her mother-city, received its citizens. But these things happened in after-times. Alba stood between a mountain, and a lake, which served as fortifications to the city, and rendered it difficult to be taken: For the mountain is extremely strong and high; and the lake, deep and large, which, when the sluices are opened, is received by the level, the inhabitants having it in their power to husband the water, as they think proper. The plains, below the city, are beautiful to the eye, and rich in the produce of all sorts of fruits, in no degree inferior to the rest of Italy, particularly, of what they call the Alban wine, which is sweet, and of a beautiful color; and, except the Falernian wine, certainly, excels all others.

LXVII. While the city was building, a great prodigy is said to have happened: For a temple with a sanctuary having been built for the images of the gods, which Aeneas had

it. The Alban lake, and mountain make a considerable figure in the Roman history, the former having been the subject of a prophecy, uttered by a Veian captive, and confirmed by no less an authority than the Delphic oracle, that the Romans should never

take^b Veii, till they had let out the water of the Alban lake. The Alban mountain was famous for the *Feriae latinae* instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated in the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, that stood on the top of it.

^b Livy, B. v. c. 15.

brought

brought with him from Troas, and placed in Lavinium, and the statues having been removed, from the temple at Lavinium, into this sanctuary, the doors being then, particularly, well shut, and the walls, and roof unhurt, the statues changed their station, the following night, and were found upon their old pedestals. And, being brought thither again, with supplicatory and propitiatory sacrifices, they returned, in like manner, to the same place. Upon this, the people were, for some time, in doubt what they should do, being unwilling either to live separately from the gods of their fathers, or to return to their old habitation: At last, they found out an expedient, which seemed, well enough, to answer both these purposes; this was, to let the images remain where they were, and to send back some of their ²¹⁶ own people from Alba, to Lavinium, to live there, and take care of them. Those, who were sent to Lavinium, to perform this holy office, were six hundred; they removed thither with their families, and Aegeus was appointed their chief. The Romans call these gods, Penates: Some, who translate the word into the Greek language, render it Πατρῶες, *The gods of their fathers*; others, Γενεθλῆες, *The gods, who preside over births*; and others, Κησιες, *The givers of riches*; Μυχῆες, *Gods of the sanctuary*; and Ερκῆες, *Gods of the inclosure*: Each of these has, probably, given them their name from

²¹⁶ Εποικῆς. This word is used in the same sense by ^c Thucydides, where he says that the Athenians, having ejected the inhabitants of Aegina, sent some of their own people to inhabit

the island; αἰλῶν πεμφαντες εποικῆς. Upon which word, the Greek scholiast makes the following observation: Αποικοι μὲν, οἱ ἐν ἐρημῷ τόπῳ πεμπομενοὶ οἰκῆσαι· εποικοὶ δὲ, οἱ εἰς πόλεις, ὥσπερ νυν.

^c B. ii. c. 27.

some

some one of their functions: However, they all seem, in some degree, to express the same thing. Concerning their figure, and appearance, Timaeus, the historian, gives this account; that the holy things, preserved in the sanctuaries at Lavinium, are iron and brazen *Caducei*, and a vessel of Trojan earth: This, he says, he learned from the inhabitants. For my part, I cannot think it right, in me, to give an account of those things, which it is lawful neither for all to see, nor to hear from those, who have seen them. And I must blame every man, who is desirous of inquiring after, or of knowing, more than the laws allow.

LXVIII. But the things which I myself know, by having seen them, and concerning which, no scruple forbids me to write, are as follows. They shew you a temple at Rome not far from the Forum in the street, that leads, the nearest way, to the *Carinae*; which is small, and darkened by the height of the adjacent buildings: This place, is called, by the Romans, in their own language, *Veliae*; in this temple, are the images of Trojan gods, exposed to public view, with this inscription, ²¹⁷ ΔΕΜΑΣ, which signifies *Penates*: For,

²¹⁷ Δεμας. This is the reading of all the editions, but, certainly, not the true one. Scaliger, in his notes upon the Chronicon of Eusebius, number 617, takes notice of this inscription; and, in order to explain it, says that there must have been a Π of such a shape as to resemble a Δ. But he does not say what kind of a Π this was; neither is there among the many ancient alphabets he has exhibited, any

Π that bears the least resemblance to a Δ. And I am persuaded that, if Scaliger had seen the Venetian and Vatican manuscripts, he would have rejected this reading, instead of endeavouring to explain it. It must be observed that *Penates* is a Latin word, and derived, as we know from ^d Cicero, either from *penus*, or *penitus*: So that, all attempts to reconcile this Greek inscription with *Penates* must

^d De Nat. Deor. B. ii. c. 27.

according

according to my opinion, the letter Θ, being not, yet, found out, the ancients expressed its power, by the letter Δ. These are two youths, in a sitting posture, each of them holding a spear; they are pieces of ancient workmanship. We have seen many other statues, also, of these gods in ancient temples; and, in all of them, they represented two youths in military habits. It is lawful to see these, and to hear what others say concerning them; and to write what ²¹⁸ Callistratus,

be vain. Besides, as the following words, now, stand in all the editions, Dionysius is made to say that the letter Π, not being, as yet, found out, the ancients expressed its power by the letter Δ; when he, no doubt, knew, and certain it is, that the Π, as well as the Δ, was among the sixteen, or, as others say, the seventeen letters brought into Greece, from Phoenicia, by Cadmus. The Venetian manuscript, in Hudson's notes, has Δεμας, on the margin of which was written, as he says, ἀντὶ τῆς θεμας· τῆς Δ ἀντὶ τῆς Θ παλαιως. This is, further, explained by the Vatican manuscript, which has θεμις, and the following sentence stands thus; τῆς θεῖας μητρὸς γραμματὶς εὐρημὲν τὴν ἐκεῖνην δὴλάν δυνάμιν τοῦ δεῖλα; which I have made no difficulty of following in the text: For, whether the inscription was Δεμας or Δεμις, the reason, alledged by both the manuscripts, is just. Since the letter Θ was not, in reality, one of the Cadmean letters, but invented, long after, by Simonides, together with the two other aspirate letters Φ and Χ; which is so true, that, before the invention of these three let-

ters, the Greeks ^e made use of the aspirate Η after Τ, Π and Κ; and writ, for example, ΤΗΥΕΛΛΑ, ΠΗΥΛΛΟΝ, ΚΗΥΥΣΟΣ, in which they have been followed by the Romans, as I shall shew in another ^f place. The Carinae was a street in Rome, called so, as Servius says, from the resemblance of the houses to the keels of ships; which, however, may be much doubted. I agree, intirely, with Casaubon, in reading ουελιαι, and shall add to the reasons, given by him, to support that reading, which may be seen in Hudson, that our ^g author himself calls this hill Ουελια, where he says that Valerius Publicola built a house, which, from its situation, gave umbrage to the people: And ^h Livy, speaking of the same fact, says of Valerius *aedificabat in summâ Veliâ*.

²¹⁸ Καλλιστρατός, Σάλυρος, Αρχίνος. I know not that any other author has made mention of Callistratus, as the writer of the Samothracian history. ⁱ Satyrus is not much more known, unless he is the same with the biographer, who writ the life of Philip, the father of Alexander the great,

^e Mar. Victor.

^f See the 41st annot. on the fourth book.

^g B. v. c. 19.

^h B. ii. c. 7.

ⁱ Vossius Hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 410.

the author of the history of Samothrace, and Satyrus, who has collected the ancient fables, with many others, have related; among whom the poet, Arctinus, is the most ancient we know of. This, therefore, is the account they give: That Chryses, the daughter of Palas, when she was married to Dardanus, brought, for her dowry, the gifts of Minerva, that is, the Palladiums, and the²¹⁹ images of the great gods,

That of Demosthenes, and of several other eminent men. Suidas says that Arctinus was a Milesian, and a disciple of Homer; for which he quotes Artemon of Clazomenae.

²¹⁹ Τα ἱερά των θεων. Here is a difficulty, which the translators have either not seen, or have dissembled: It is certain that, when our author says that Chryses brought with her, as her dowry, besides the Palladiums, τα ἱερά των μεγαλων θεων, he means *the statues of the great gods*, which both the Latin translators have rendered *sacra magnorum deorum*, and the two French translators *les statues des grands dieux*: And it is as certain that, when our author says that Dardanus, when he went into Asia, left τα ἱερά των θεων in Samothrace, he does not mean the statues of the gods; but only the mysteries relating to their worship: And here, again, the Latin translators have said *sacra et mysteria*, which M. * * * has rendered *les mysteres des dieux et les choses saintes*: I wish I knew what he means by *les choses saintes*. They could not be the Palladiums, nor the statues of the gods: For, all these our author tells us, in the next sentence, Dardanus carried with him into Asia. Le

Jay, most assuredly, saw the difficulty of translating these words, and, to avoid it, has left them quite out. But this difficulty pursues him: For, a few lines after, our author says that Dardanus consulted the oracle *περι των ιερων της φυλακης*: However, he resolves not to be troubled any more about it, and has, also, left out these words. The other French translator, has, most certainly, the merit of having attempted to translate them; and I am sorry, for that reason, that, *sur le soin qu'il devoit avoir du culte des dieux* cannot be allowed to express the sense of *περι των ιερων της φυλακης*: It is, however, as well as *de asservandis sacris* in Sylburgius, or *de sacrorum custodiâ* in Portus. It is plain that the oracle related to the preservation of these statues, upon which the fate of the town, he was going to build, and, afterwards, of Troy, was to depend. The oracle, that was delivered to Dardanus, is, if the authorities, our author quotes, have not misled him, of the highest antiquity; since it was given to him before he founded the kingdom of Troy, which happened in the 3234th year of the Julian^k period, about fifty years after the Israelites came out of

^k Petav. B. ii. c. 10. part iii. and B. i. c. 11. part i.

in whose mysteries she had been instructed: That, when the Arcadians, flying from the deluge, left Peloponnesus, and settled in the island of Thrace, Dardanus built there a temple to these gods, whose particular names he disclosed to none, and performed those ceremonies to them, which are observed, to this day, by the Samothraces: That, when he transported the greatest part of his people into Asia, he left the mysteries, belonging to these gods, and the ceremonies with those, who remained in the island; and carried with him the Palladiums, and the images of the gods: And that, upon consulting the oracle concerning his settlement, among other things he was informed of, he received this answer relating to the custody of the images of the gods; “Remember to establish, in the city, which you shall build, perpetual worship to the gods, and to honor them with

Egypt, and a little before the death of Joshua; and 296 years before that city was destroyed by the Greeks, in the reign of Priamus. It is very remarkable that this oracle is in very good hexameter verse, and the language, not at all, different from That of Homer, who writ above five hundred years after this period; nor from the language of those poets, who writ five hundred years after Homer. However, there is an expression in it, in rendering which the translators, I find, are divided: It is this, σεβας αφθιλον αιει, which Portus has translated *cultum incorruptum semper*, and Hudson has altered it to *cultum purum semper*.

Sylburgius has said much better *cultum perpetuum*, which is the sense; and le Jay, whom I, always, commend with pleasure, when I can do it with justice, has given it this sense; as the other French translator has, also, though more explicitly: This is the sense, in which ¹ Homer applies these words, αφθιλον αιει, more than once, to the scepter of Agamemnon,

Δεξαλο οι σκηπτρον παλρωιον αφθιλον αιει.

Upon which the Greek scholiast makes this observation: Το μεν αθαναλον επι εμψυχων οι φιλοσοφει τασσασι το δε αφθιλον επι αψυχων.

¹ Iliad. β. γ. 186.

“safeguards, sacrifices, and choirs : For, while these venerable gifts of the daughter of Jupiter to your wife shall remain in your country, your city shall, for ever, be impregnable.”

LXIX. That, upon this, Dardanus left the images in the city, which he founded, and which received its name from him : That, Ilium, being, afterwards, built, the images were removed thither by his descendants ; and that the Ilienses built a temple, and a sanctuary for them in the citadel, and preserved them with all possible care, looking upon them as sent from Heaven, and as the pledges of public safety : That, while the Greeks were employed in taking the lower city, Aeneas, being master of the citadel, took, out of the sanctuary, the images of the great gods, and the Palladium, which, yet, remained (for the other, Ulysses, and Diomedes, they say, coming into Ilium by night, stole away) and, carrying them with him out of the city, brought them into Italy. But Arctinus says that one Palladium was given by Jupiter to Dardanus, and that this remained in Ilium, hid in the sanctuary, till the city was taken : That, from this, a copy was made, in every respect, like the original, and exposed to the view of the public, on purpose to deceive those, who might have a design to steal it ; and, that the Greeks, having formed this design, took that away. I say, therefore, upon the authority of the persons above mentioned, that the images, brought into Italy by Aeneas, were Those of the great gods, to whom the Samothracians, of all the Greeks,

pay the greatest worship, and the famous²²⁰ Palladium, which, they say, is kept by the holy virgins in the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire is, also, preserved: Concerning whom, I shall speak afterwards. There may be other things, besides these, which are kept secret from us, who are²²¹ not initiated. And so far concerning the Trojan gods.

LXX. Ascanius dying in the eight and thirtieth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, succeeded him: He was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneas, and, as they say, brought up on the mountains by the herdsmen. For, upon the accession of Ascanius to the kingdom, Lavinia, fearing lest the name of a step-mother, might draw upon her some severity from him, she, being,

²²⁰ Παλλάδιον. Many authors have written of this famous Palladium, but none of them have taken so much pains to inform their readers of all the circumstances, relating to this solemn farce, as Dionysius. It seems, the pagan priests, early, understood the art of raising the veneration of their votaries by secreting the object of it. I find Herodian is quoted by the commentators, upon the occasion of this Palladium, for saying that, in the reign of Commodus, the temple of Vesta was burnt, and the Palladium exposed to public view for the first time. But ^m Tacitus, who is much more to be credited, says, in speaking of the public buildings, that were consumed by fire in Nero's time, *Aedesque Statoris Jovis vota Romulo, Numaeque regia, et delubrum Vestae cum penatibus populi Romani exusta.*

^m Annal. B. xv. c. 41.

²²¹ Βεβηλοις. This word is, very properly, rendered by the Latin translators *profanis*: But I think not so well by the French translators, *nous autres profanes*: I am sensible that, in their language, *des auteurs profanes* is said in opposition to *des auteurs sacrez*; but I leave it to them to consider whether they say *des gens profanes* in opposition to *des gens d'église*; for that is the sense of the word in this place, which is explained in Hesychius by ἀμυητός. It is well known that ἐκας, ἐκας εἰσε βεβηλοις, which ⁿ Virgil has translated

procul, ô procul, este, profani.

were what they call *solennia verba*, and previous to their religious ceremonies. The explication Servius gives of *profani*, in this verse, agrees, exactly, with That of Hesychius, *qui non estis initiati.*

ⁿ Aeneid. B. vi. 258.

then,

then, with child, put herself into the hands of one Tyrrhenus, who was superintendant of the king's swineherds, and whom she knew to have been, extremely, ²²² devoted to Latinus : He, carrying her into the desert woods, as one of the vulgar, and, taking care she was not seen by any one, who knew her, supported her, in a house he built in the wood, which was known but to few : And, when the child was born, he took care of it, and brought it up, calling it, from the wood, Silvius, that is, in Greek, Ὑλαίος : But, in process of time, finding the Latines made great search after the woman, and that the people accused Ascanius of having put her to death, he acquainted them with the whole matter, and produced the woman, and her son out of the wood. From this incident Silvius had his name, which, afterwards, became common to all his posterity. After the death of his brother, he succeeded him in the kingdom, though not without a contest with Iulus, the eldest son of Ascanius, who claimed a right to his father's kingdom. But the people rejected his claim ; to which they were induced by many considerations ; but, chiefly, by this, that his mother was sole heiress to the kingdom : And to Iulus, instead of the sovereignty, a certain holy power, and honor was given, preferable to the royal dignity, both for

²²² Προσηγορος· προσκυνητης. Hesychius. This sense of the word will, I dare say, convince any one that neither *familiaris*, in the Latin-translators ; *dans les bonnes graces de Latinus*, in le Jay ; nor *des plus fideles amis de Latinus*, in the other French translator, can

signify προσηγορον Λατινω. Besides, I am persuaded that the reader will not think the intimacy, they have created between the king, and the overseer of his swineherds, very agreeable to the rules of decency.

security, and ease ; which²²³ his posterity enjoy, even, to this day, and are called Julii from him : This family became the most considerable, and, at the same time, the most illustrious of any we know of ; and has brought forth the greatest commanders, whose virtues have been so many proofs of their nobility. Concerning whom, we shall say what is requisite in another place.

LXXI. Silvius, having been in possession of the kingdom twenty nine years, was succeeded by Aeneas, his son, who reigned one and thirty years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty one : Then, Albas thirty nine : After Albas, Capetus reigned twenty six ; then Capys twenty eight : After Capys, Calpetus held the kingdom thirteen years : Then Tiberinus reigned eight years : The last, it is said, was slain in a battle, that was fought near the river ; and, being carried along with the stream, gave his name to the river, which was, before, called Albula. Agrippa, the successor of Tiberinus, reigned one and forty years : After Agrippa, Alladius, a

²²³ Ην εἶ και εἰς εμε το εἰς αὐτῶς γένος ἐκέρπητο. This relates to Julius Caesar, and his adopted son, Augustus, who, were both *pontifices maximi*, as it is well known ; the last being invested with that dignity upon the death of Lepidus, in the consulship of Tiberius, and Quintilius Varus, which, in the *Fasti consulares*, is the 741st year of Rome. This I mention, because Torrentius, and Casaubon, in their notes upon Suetonius, for what reason I cannot guess, say that Augustus was created pontifex maximus in the year 711. M. * * *

has taken occasion, from this paragraph of our author, to say that he was paid by Augustus for writing his history. I own I see no reason for that suspicion. The warmth Dionysius expresses for the cause of liberty, throughout his work, does not look as if he was paid by an usurper. If, in describing the battle of ^P Actium, either he, or any other author had transformed the feather, on the cask of Augustus, into a blazing star, they might well be said to have been paid by that prince.

^o Dio. B. liv. p. 619.

^p See Boileau's Ode on the taking of Namur.

tyran-

²²⁴ tyrannical prince, and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen. He, in contempt of them, had contrived machines to imitate both thunderbolts, and the noise of thunder, with which he proposed to terrify mankind, as if he had been a god: But a storm, fraught with rain, and thunder, falling upon his house, and the lake, near which it stood, swelling, in an unusual manner, he was drowned with his whole family. And, now, when one part of the lake is low upon the retreat of the water, and the bottom calm, the ruins of porticoes, and other traces of a habitation appear. Aventinus, from whom one of the seven hills, that make part of the city of Rome, received its name, succeeded, and reigned thirty seven years: After him, Procas, three and twenty: Then, Amulius, having, unjustly, possessed himself of the kingdom, which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned two and forty years. But Amulius being put to death by Romulus, and Remus, the sons of a Vestal, as we shall, presently, relate, Numitor, the grandfather of the youths by the mother's side, resumed the sovereignty, which, by the laws, belonged to him. ²²⁵ The next year,

²²⁴ Τυραννικόν τι χεῖμα. This is Attic elegance, which our author was, perfectly, master of. Aristophanes, and, indeed, all the Attic writers, often, use this kind of expression: One passage of the former, I shall quote, because the observation of the ⁹ Greek scholiast upon it, will explain this Atticism;

το χεῖμα των νυκτων, ὅσον
Απεραλον.

Ἔτος δὲ τοις Αἰλίοις επαγωγή χεῖμασι· οἷον ἵππος σπανιον τι χεῖμα.

²²⁵ Τῷ δ' ἔξης εἰείτης Νομίλαρος ἀρχῆς, etc. Dionysius is, upon this occasion, censured by Dodwell, as inconsistent with himself. As M. * * * has translated the reasons, given by Dodwell in support of this censure, though without saying a word from whence he had them, I shall endeavour to answer Dodwell, without taking notice of his

which was in the reign of Numitor, and the four hundred and thirty second after the taking of Troy, the Albans,

translator; and doubt not to prove that the reasons, alledged by Dodwell, are inconsistent with his own chronology. In the first place, I must observe that it is a bold attempt in modern chronologers, who are unprovided with the necessary materials, to censure the approved authors of antiquity, who had all these materials before them. Were it possible for our modern chronologers to have recourse to Fabius Pictor, Cincius, Cato, Eratosthenes, and many other authors, so often quoted by Dionysius, I see no reason why they should not be allowed to form as true a judgement of chronology, as Dionysius: But, when they are deprived of every one of these helps, and he had them all; when no author ever pretended to accuse him of the want either of diligence in consulting them, or of capacity in making use of them, I must think it very unreasonable to give more credit to our modern chronologers, under all these difficulties, than to him, with all those advantages. I will, indeed, allow, that where chronology depends upon astronomy, the modern chronologers have the advantage over the ancient; because, astronomy, is now, very much improved. This gave occasion to our great^r Sir Isaac Newton to correct the chronology of the Greeks, by correcting the astronomy of Hipparchus, who, first, discovered the precession of the aequinoxes; or, to speak more intelligibly, that the aequinoxes had a motion backwards in respect to the fixed

stars. This discovery was important to astronomy, but fatal to ancient chronology: For, Hipparchus thought that the aequinoxes went backwards one degree in about an hundred years; which gave occasion to the Greeks to place the Argonautic expedition three hundred years earlier than they would have done, had they known, what Sir Isaac Newton knew, that the aequinoxes went back a degree in seventy two years. The reader will see that this error affects every other great aera, since the Argonautic expedition. But this does not belong to my subject. I am only to reason from historical facts, and to shew that Dionysius, in fixing the aera of the foundation of Rome, is consistent with himself; and, that the reasons alledged by Dodwell are not consistent with his own chronology. In order to establish these two points, I do not think it necessary to consider whether the aera of Cato, or That of Varro, is the best founded; because it is impossible for us to know the reasons, that induced either Varro to place the foundation of Rome in the third year of the sixth Olympiad; or Cato to place it two years later; that is, in the first year of the seventh. Our author has thought fit to follow Cato, for which, I dare say, he had good reasons; since he says that he published a treatise upon this subject, which is, now, lost. Before I go on, I cannot help taking notice that^s Sir Isaac Newton has said that *Varro placed the building of Rome on the first year of the seventh*

^r Chron. p. 25, and 94.

^s Chron. p. 129.

having

having sent out a colony under the conduct of Romulus, and Remus, built Rome the first year of the seventh

olympiad. I am persuaded that he would have corrected this small mistake, if he had lived to publish his chronology. But, to return to That of our author: He says, then, that Rome was built after the death of Amulius, and in the reign of Numitor, in the 432^d year from the destruction of Troy, and the first of the seventh olympiad, in which Daicles of Messene won the prize of the stadium, and Charops entered upon the first year of his decennial archonship. The first thing, here, to be considered is the number of years contained between the destruction of Troy, and the building of Rome. Dionysius has, already, told us that Troy was taken on the twenty third of the Attic month Thargelion, that is, the twelfth of our June: Consequently, the 432 years will not be completed till the twenty third of Thargelion in the year, in which the building of Rome was begun. Now, the day of the month, in which this happened, is very well known; because the Romans celebrated a festival on that day, called *Palilia*, or *Parilia*, in memory of that great event; which festival was celebrated on the eleventh of the calends of May, that is, the twenty first of April. Another thing to be considered in our author's chronology, is, that, when he speaks of the years, each of the Alban kings reigned, he computes according to the old Roman method; that is, he begins the year with the first of March. For Romulus, who had a mind to be thought the son of Mars, began the year with that month:

And, that this was the old Roman way of counting, appears from their calling June, which was the fifth month from the first of March, *Quintilis*, and August, *Sextilis*, and the following months, according to their place from that day, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*. These things being premised, let us see how the number of years, attributed by our author to Aeneas, and to each of the Alban kings, agrees with his computation. The Trojans, he says, built Lavinium just after the expiration of the two first years after the taking of Troy: The third year, Aeneas reigned over the Trojans only; the fourth, he succeeded Latinus; and, having reigned three years after the death of Latinus, he died the fourth year. This same year, Ascanius succeeded him, and died in the thirty eighth year of his reign. Sylvius succeeded him, the same year, and reigned twenty nine; Aeneas, his son, thirty one; Latinus, fifty one; Albas, thirty nine; Capetus, twenty six; Capys, twenty eight; Calpetus, thirteen; Tiberinus, eight; Agrippas, forty one; Allades, nineteen; Aventinus, thirty seven; Procas, twenty three; and Amulius forty two. The reader will find that all these numbers, added together, will make four hundred thirty two. This year was a very busy year: For, on the fifteenth of the calends of March, the fifteenth of February, on which day, the Lupercalia were celebrated, Remus was taken; and, about the beginning of March, on the first day of which the Roman, not the Attic

olympiad, in which Daicles of Messene won the prize of the stadium, and the first year of the decennial archonship of Charops at Athens.

year, began, Amulius was slain : After whose death, Numitor succeeded ; and, having, as our author says, employed *a short time* to settle his government, he, *presently*, thought of founding a new kingdom for his grandsons, and of enabling them to build a new city. This city they began to build, accordingly, on the eleventh of the calends of May, the twenty first of April following ; which, the reader sees, was several weeks before the twenty third of Thargelion, on which day, every year, from the taking of Troy, was accomplished. After all these particulars are explained, I believe, I need not employ many words to answer the objections of Dodwell. The first he makes to the chronology of our author, is that Creon being the first annual archon, who was created such at Athens in the first year of the twenty fourth olympiad, it cannot be that either Charops, or any other, should have been in the first year of his decennial archonship in the first year of the seventh olympiad. I own I have not comprehension enough to see that this is a necessary consequence. For, though it is, generally, supposed that the seven decennial archons (of whom Charops was the first) governed ten years apiece, yet it is well known that our account of the decennial, is not so complete as That of the annual, archons ; and it might very well happen that Dionysius had a more complete

account of the decennial archons before him, when he writ this : If these, by any accident, governed only sixty eight years, instead of seventy, it will be found that Charops entered upon the first year of his decennial archonship in the first year of the seventh olympiad. It is well known that Creon was created the first annual archon the first year of the twenty fourth olympiad ; and, if, from twenty three olympiads, we deduct six for those elapsed before the building of Rome, the remaining seventeen will make just sixty eight years. But, I think, I have a stronger objection against his chronology, than this, or any other he has urged against That of Dionysius. He says that Rome must have been built in the 433^d year after the taking of Troy ; for which he quotes Solinus, and the author of the *Progenies Augusti*, under the name of Messala Corvinus. These, he thinks, are authors fit to be opposed to the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The first was a grammarian, and a wretched transcriber of other authors, particularly, of Pliny ; and ^t Scaliger, in his notes on Eusebius, calls him, with great reason, *scriptorem levissimum* : The other is a fictitious writer, as every body knows, and Dodwell himself owns. But, even this system of Dodwell will not agree with his own chronological tables : For, by placing the building of Rome in the first year of Numitor,

LXXII. But, there being great disputes concerning both the time of the building of the city, and the founders of it, I thought it incumbent on me, also, not to give a cursory account of these things, as if they were, universally, agreed on. For Cephalon, the Gergithian, a very ancient writer, says the city was built, ²²⁶ the second generation after the Trojan war, by those, who escaped from Troy with Aeneas: That the founder of it was Remus, who was the leader of the colony: That he was one of Aeneas's sons; and that Aeneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus, and

or, in other words, by allowing nothing in his tables to the reign of Numitor, he has made the total of the reigns to amount to 432 years, as they, certainly, do. From whence, he concludes that the forty second year of Amulius was the 432^d from the taking of Troy: In this I agree with him: Then, says he, the first of Numitor was the 433^d from the taking of Troy: This I deny: And, I believe, the reader, from what I have said, will anticipate my reasons for denying it. Amulius was slain, and Numitor succeeded him in the spring of this year: For, we find, by our author, that Amulius was not slain, till some time after the fifteenth of February; and that he was slain time enough for Numitor to succeed him, to settle his government, and send out Romulus and Remus so early, that they began to build Rome on the twenty first of April of this year 432. Now, we have, already, seen, from our author, that Troy was taken on the twenty third of Thargelion; consequently, the 432^d year from the taking of Troy did not

end till the return of the twenty third of Thargelion, which fell out several weeks after the twenty first of April. It will, therefore, necessarily, follow that Rome was built the 432^d year after the taking of Troy, as our author says, and not the 433^d, as Dodwell would have it. The reader will excuse a repetition, which I find I have been guilty of in this note. The necessity I was under, first, to state facts, and, then, to apply them, obliged me to it; and I chose rather to be prolix, than obscure.

²²⁶. Δεύτερον γενεα. I cannot conceive how Portus came to translate this *anno secundo*, instead of *the second generation*, as the words, plainly, signify. But, as obvious as this mistake is in Portus, le Jay, his faithful follower, has translated him, and said *la seconde année*. This is a convincing proof, if this proof were wanting, to satisfy every one that le Jay, instead of translating Dionysius, has translated Portus. Hudson cannot be excused for not correcting this mistake in his edition.

Remus. ²²⁷ Demagoras, also, Agathyllus, and many others, agree with him in relation both to the time, and the leader of the colony. But the ²²⁸ author of the history of the priestesses in Argos, and of what passed under each of them, says that Aeneas, coming into Italy from the Molossi, after Ulysses, was the founder of the city, to which he gave the name of one of the Trojan women, who was called Rome; and that she, tired with wandering, and the rest of the Trojan women, by her instigation, set fire to the ships. In this, ²²⁹ Damastes, the Sigeian, and some others agree with him. But, ²³⁰ Aristotle, the philosopher, writes that some of the

²²⁷ Δημαγορά και Αγαθυλλῶ. ^u It is not known whether the first of these was a poet, or an historian. The other was an Arcadian poet; and our author, as we shall see, cites some verses of his. Concerning Cephalon, see the 152^d annotation.

²²⁸ Ο δε τας ιερείας τας εν Αργει, και τα καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶχθεντα συναγαγων. The author of this history is not mentioned by Dionysius: It is possible that it may be Hellanicus, concerning whom see the 66th and 67th annotations.

²²⁹ Δαμασῆς ὁ Σιγεὺς. ^w This historian is said by our author to have lived a little before the Peloponnesian war. He was of Sigeum, a promontory, and a town of Troas, now, called, *Janizzari*. Suidas says he writ two books concerning the parents, and ancestors of those, who warred at Troy, and a catalogue of nations, and cities; as also, concerning poets, and philo-

sophers, with many other things; and that he was a disciple of Hellanicus.

²³⁰ Ἀριστοτέλης. As this account, taken from Aristotle, is in some of his works, that are lost, it is not possible to know whether ^x Plutarch, who tells this story, without saying from whom he had it, and makes these people, who came from Troy, to have been Trojans; or whether our author, who says they were Greeks, had most reason for his assertion: Though, by the sequel of the story, they must have been Greeks, since the Trojan women, who set fire to the fleet, were their prisoners. The promontory, formerly, called *Malea*, now, *Capo Malio*, belongs to Laconia, and forms the south east point of the ancient Peloponnesus, now, the Morea. We read of many ships being lost in doubling the cape; this dangerous sea is taken notice of by ^y Virgil,

Maleaeque sequacibus undis.

^u Voss. Hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 351. ^w Περὶ χηρακῶν. Θεοκυδ. ^x Γυναικ. ἀρετῶν. ^y Aeneid. B. v. Ὀ. 193.

Greeks,

Greeks, in their return from Troy, while they were doubling the cape of Malea, were overtaken with a violent storm; and, being, for some time, driven out of their course by the winds, wandered over many parts of the sea; till, at last, they came to this place, which belongs to Opica, called Latium, lying on the Tyrrhene sea: That, being pleased with the sight of land, they haled up their ships; staid there the winter season, and were preparing to sail in the beginning of the spring: But, their ships being set on fire in the night, and they, unable to sail away, necessity obliged them, against their will, to settle in the place, where they had landed: And, that this was brought upon them, by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy; who burned the ships, lest, when the Greeks returned home, they should become slaves. ²³¹ Callias, who writ the actions of Agathocles, says that one of the Trojan women, who came into Italy with the rest of the Trojans, called Rome, married Latinus, king of the Aborigines, by whom, she had two sons, Remus, and Romulus, who, building a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the historian, writes that Ulysses, and Circe had three sons, Remus, Antias, and Ardeas, who, building three cities, called them after their own names. ²³² Dionysius, the Chalcidean, owns, indeed,

²³¹ Καλλίας, Ξεναγόρας. The age of the first is known, by his having been a pensioner, and flatterer of Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, as we learn from ² Suidas, who has transcribed Diodorus, in every thing relating to him. All we know of the

other, is, that he writ one treatise concerning chronology, and another concerning islands.

²³² Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. We know no more of this historian, than that he writ five books of the origins of ^a cities.

² Vossius Hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 422. ^a Id. ib. p. 358.

that

that Remus was the founder of the city ; but, then, he says, that he was, according to some, the son of Ascanius, and, according to others, the son of Emathion. There are others, who affirm that Rome was built by Remus, the son of Italus, and of Electra, the daughter of Latinus.

LXXIII. I could quote many other Greek writers, who assign different founders of the city ; but, not to appear prolix, I shall come to the Roman historians. The Romans have not so much as one ancient historian, or ²³³ orator ; but each of their historians has taken something out of the ancient relations, that are preserved in the ²³⁴ holy records. Some of these say that Romulus, and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneas : Others, that they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneas, without determining who was their father ; and that they were delivered, as hostages,

²³³ Λογογράφος. M. ***, very justly, censures Gelenius, and Portus for translating this, *a writer of fables*. I do not understand why he has spared Sylburgius, since he has fallen into the same error, as well as le Jay. In opposition to them, he has said, *a writer* in general ; though, by the very authorities he quotes, he ought to have rendered it either *an orator*, with Plutarch, or, *an historian*, with Thucydides. As our author has, already, mentioned *an historian*, I have chosen to translate Λογογράφος, in this place, *an orator*, in which I am supported, not only by the authority of Plutarch, but, also, by that of Hesychius ; λογογράφος, ὁ δίκας γράφων.

²³⁴ Εν ιεραῖς δελτοῖς. I look upon

these to have been what the Romans called *libros linteos*, which contained the treaties made by them with other nations ; and, also, the names of their magistrates, and the times of their creation ; because, I find that ^b Livy calls them *libros magistratuum*, and *libros linteos* : *Licinius Macer auctor est, et in foedere Ardeatino, et in linteis libris ad Monetae inventa*. And, again, *quodque magistratuum libri, quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae, Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores* ^c. The epithet *ιεραῖς*, made use of by our author upon this occasion, inclined me to think that he might mean the *libri pontificales* ; but these related, purely, to religion, and to public and private sacrifices.

^b B. iv. c. 7.

^c Ib. c. 20.

by Aeneas, to Latinus, king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants, and the foreigners: And that Latinus received them kindly, did them many good offices, and, dying without male children, left them his successors in some part of his kingdom. Others say that, after the death of Aeneas, Ascanius, having succeeded him in the intire sovereignty of the Latines, divided both the country, and the forces of the Latines, into three parts; two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus, and Remus: That he himself built Alba, and some other towns; and that Remus built a city, which he called Capua, from Capys, his great grandfather; Anchise, from his grandfather Anchises; Aenea, which was, afterwards, called Janiculum, from his father; and Rome, from his own name: That this last city was, for some time, deserted by the inhabitants; but that, upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent, under the conduct of Romulus, and Remus, it was restored to its former condition: So that, according to this account, there were two foundations of Rome; one, a little after the Trojan war; and the other, fifteen generations after the first. But, if any one desires to look into the earlier accounts, even, a third Rome will be found, more ancient than these, which was founded, before Aeneas, and the Trojans came into Italy. This is supported by the testimony of no vulgar; nor modern author; but by That of Antiochus, the Syracusan, whom I mentioned before: He says that, when Morges reigned in Italy

(which,

(²³⁵ which, at that time, comprehended all the sea coast from Tarentum, to ²³⁶ Posidonia) a man came to him, who had been banished from Rome; his words are these: “After
 “Italus was grown old, Morges reigned: In his reign,
 “there came to him a man, who had been banished from
 “Rome, and whose name was Sicelus.” According, therefore, to the Syracusan historian, some ancient city, called Rome, is found, even, earlier than the time of the Trojan war. But, as he has left it doubtful whether it was situated in the same place, where the city, now, stands, or whether some other place was called by the same name, so, neither can I form any conjecture relating to it. Concerning, therefore, the ancient foundations of Rome, I think, what has been said, to be sufficient.

LXXIV. As to the last reinhabiting, or building of the city; or, by what name soever we ought to call it, Timaeus,

²³⁵ Ην δὲ τῶν Ἰταλίων. Casaubon says, upon this passage, that ^d Strabo, upon the authority, also, of Antiochus, makes Italy much less extensive. I have looked into that place of Strabo, and find it to be so. Upon this, he asks whether the words of Antiochus may not be, less accurately, quoted by Dionysius, than Strabo? To this I answer that it is more probable they did not both quote the same passage, and that Antiochus might, in one place, speak of one description of Italy, that prevailed at one time, and, in the other, of another description, that prevailed at another time. Something like this he himself seems to insinuate. This, and many other notes,

both of Casaubon, and the other commentators M. *** has taken, without giving the least hint from whom he had them.

²³⁶ Ἀρχὴ Ποσιδωνίας. This was the Greek name of a town in Lucania, called by the Romans, Paestum, which lay in the Sinus Paestanus, now, called, *Golfo di Salerno*. It is very possible that Antiochus, whose words our author quotes, might mean the promontory *Posidonium*, or *Posidium*, that lies to the south of the town, and is, now, called, ^e *Capo di Licosa*, as a more remarkable boundary on the west, to answer the large city of Tarentum on the east.

^d B. vi. p. 391.

^e Cluver, Ital. Antiq. p. 1258.

the Sicilian (by what ²³⁷ computation I know not) places it at the same time with the building of Carthage, that is, in the thirty eighth year before the first olympiad; Lucius Cincius, a Roman senator, about the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; and Quinctus Fabius in the first year of the eighth olympiad. Cato Porcius follows no Greek account; but, being as careful, as any writer, in collecting ancient histories, he places the building of Rome four hundred and thirty two years after the taking of Troy: And this time, being compared with the chronological tables of ²³⁸ Eratosthenes, falls in with the first year of the seventh olympiad. I have shewn, in another treatise, that the canons of Eratosthenes are to be depended on, and, in what manner, the Roman chronology is to be reduced to That of the Greeks: For I did not think it sufficient, like Polybius of Megalopolis, to say, only, that I believe Rome was built in the second year of the seventh olympiad; nor to leave the unexamined credit of this assertion upon a single inscription on a table, pre-

²³⁷ Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ κἀνὼν χρονομέτρος. Wonderfully translated by le Jay, *sans alleguer aucun auteur*. It is well known that κἀνὼν signifies *a workman's rule*; from whence, it was translated to chronology, where it signifies a computation of time to serve as *a rule* for history.

²³⁸ Εὐαλλοθένης. He was a man of universal learning, notwithstanding the censure of ^f Strabo, who looked upon him as a rival, though he lived so long before him, and, by his bitterness, shews he thought him a formid-

able one. ^g He was a geographer, a chronologer, a grammarian, a philosopher, a poet, an astronomer, and an historian: Of all these he gave ample proofs in his writings, which are, often, quoted, with great approbation, by the best authors. He was a Cyrenaeon, and sent for from Athens by Ptolomy Euergetes, who made him his librarian. ^h He died under Ptolomy Epiphanes in the first year of the 146th olympiad aged eighty, as we find in Suidas; but ⁱ Lucian says he was eighty two when he died.

^f B. i. in various places.

^g Harpocration, Suidas.

^h Vossius de Hist. Graec. B. i. p. 108.

ⁱ In Μακρόβ.

served by the Anchisenses, and the only one of its kind ; but chose rather to expose the reasons I myself have produced, to be canvassed by any one, who thinks fit to examine them: In that treatise, therefore, an exact chronology is deduced ; but in this work, those things ²³⁹ only, that are most necessary, will be taken notice of. The matter stands thus: ²⁴⁰ The irruption of the Gauls, in which the city of Rome was taken, is agreed, almost, on all hands, to have happened, during the archonship of Pyrgion at Athens,

²³⁹· *Αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιοτάτα*. I am surpris'd that none of the commentators have explained the force of the word *αὐτὰ*, in this place ; and, particularly, that Casaubon, who, certainly, understood both the beauty, and strength of the Greek language as well as any man since it has been revived, should be silent upon this occasion. *Αὐτὰ*, here, signifies *μόνα*, as may be proved from many passages out of the best writers ; but I shall content myself with one from ^k Aristophanes, whose language is full of Attic elegance ;

Οὐ γὰρ με καὶ νυν διαβαλεῖ Κλεων, ὅτι
Ξενων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.
Αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰμεν.

Upon which, the Greek scholiast says very well, οἷον ΜΟΝΟΙ Ἀθηναῖοι χωρὶς τῶν συμμαχῶν, καὶ ξενων. After this, I wonder the Latin translator of Aristophanes should say, *nam nos sumus*, instead of *nam soli sumus*.

²⁴⁰· Ἡ Κελίων ἐφοδος. Casaubon, in his annotation upon this passage (which M. * * * has, according to his custom,

translated without mentioning him) says that our author did not, without reason, mention this æra in comparing the chronology of the Romans, with That of the Greeks ; because Plutarch says that, soon after Rome was taken by the Gauls, the Greeks had some obscure knowledge of the Romans ; for which he quotes Heraclides Ponticus, and Aristotle. Upon looking into this passage of ^l Plutarch, I was surpris'd to find that he says Heraclides Ponticus was not much later than the time, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, & πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπομένης ; when it is well known by other authors, as well as by Laertius, who has written the life of this Heraclides, that he was a disciple of Aristotle, and, consequently, could not have lived near the time when Rome was taken ; since his master Aristotle, who must be presumed to have been, considerably, older than his disciple, died aged no more than ^m sixty three, in the third year of the 114th olympiad, that is sixty eight years after the æra we speak of.

^k *Αἴμαρ*. ψ. 501.

^l Life of Camillus.

^m Diog. Laert. Life of Aristotle.

the first year of the ninety eighth olympiad : Now, if the time before the taking of the city, be brought back to Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls at Rome after the expulsion of the kings, it will comprehend one hundred and twenty years. This appears by many monuments ; but, particularly, by the ²⁴¹ records of the

²⁴¹ Των Τιμηλικων υπομνηματων. These records of the censors were, no doubt, very good materials for supplying our author with the dates of the most considerable events in the Roman history, and as such he refers to them. The difficulty, therefore, does not consist in the want of the authenticity of these records, but in the possibility of their having been preserved, when the town was sacked by the Gauls. As I have, often, heard, men of learning argue against this possibility ; and, as the late lord ⁿ Bolingbroke, in one of his letters on the study of history, has thought fit to call those men, pedants, who would impose all the traditions of the four first ages of Rome for authentic history, and has made use of the authority of Livy to shew that the greatest part of all public and private monuments, was destroyed in the sack of Rome ; I shall, without fearing the imputation of pedantry, consider whether there is not a necessity of allowing that such an account of all the remarkable transactions precedent to the taking of Rome, was, by some means, or other, preserved at that time, as to furnish materials for an authentic history. This is all I contend for. I am sensible that the Romans had no historians, nor any writers but annalists till long after this period, and that the

Greek writers, who writ before, and several years after this period, do not shew, in any part of their works, that they were much acquainted either with the Romans, or their affairs. I have read his lordship's works with so much pleasure ; I have been so much charmed with the vivacity of his style, and instructed with the variety of his learning, that it would be a kind of ingratitude in me to say any thing in derogation of either. The point he has in view, in this letter, is, to shew that the old Roman authors were annalists, and not historians, which I allow ; and I, also, allow, that they did not write history in that fulness, in which it must be written to become a lesson of ethics, and politics ; but they might leave sufficient materials to enable others to do so. I am very glad that ^o Livy, in speaking of the public and private monuments, that perished at that time, says *pleraeque interiere* : For, if he had said *omnia*, I am afraid it would have been of little service to me to have shewn the impossibility of it. If all, or so many of the public and private monuments perished at that time, as to leave no traces behind them, how came Livy to know the number of the kings, who reigned at Rome ; the remarkable incidents of each reign ; all the particulars relating to their expul-

ⁿ Let. v.

^o B. vi. c. i.

censors, which the son receives in succession from the father, and takes great care to transmit to his posterity, like family rites. And there are several illustrious men of censorian families, who preserve these records: In which, I find that the year before the taking of the city, there was a census of the Roman people, to which, as to the rest of them, there is affixed the date, which is this; “ In the ²⁴² consulship of

sion; the creation of the tribunes of the people, and all the circumstances relative to that great event; the appointment, and dissolution of the decemvirs; the laws enacted by them before, and observed after, the taking of Rome; and every other transaction he relates in his first five books? It may be said that he took all these facts from the historians, who writ before him. But where had these old historians those facts? From none who writ before the taking of Rome; because there were none: So that, these old historians must either have had them from the monuments, and annals that were then preserved, or they must have invented them: But this no man will say; therefore, I think, the other must be granted.

²⁴²· Ὑπαλειαντος Λευκισ Ουαλερις Ποτῖς, καὶ Τῖς Μάλλισ Καπιτωλινς. ^p Livy says nothing of this census, though he mentions the death of Caius Julius, one of the censors: But the elegance, and pompous style of that historian deserves more to be admired, than his exactness. These consuls, being ill of a pestilential distemper, abdicated; and six consular tribunes were created the same year. The following year, also, six consular tribunes were chosen,

among whom were the three Fabii, who had been sent ambassadors to the Gauls; and, contrary to the laws of nations, had charged in the army of the Clusini, when these engaged them. This was the fatal year, in which Rome was taken; and these were the consular tribunes, under whose government that calamity befel the Romans. The census, therefore, which our author says was performed in the consulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, must have been the year before the city was taken. I cannot end this note without taking notice of two things, that surprise me in the words quoted by our author out of these censorian records; the first is, that one of the consuls of this year is called by Livy, and the *Fasti consulares*, Marcus, not Titus Manlius; and the other, that he was not called Capitolinus, till the following year, after he had saved the capitol: And Livy, in speaking of the consuls of this year, says, *creati consules L. Valerius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino postea fuit cognomen*. This deserved to be taken notice of by the commentators: But they are, often, very liberal of their assistance, when it is not wanted, and forsake the reader, when it is.

“ Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, “ the hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of “ the kings.” So that, the irruption of the Gauls, which we find to have fallen out in the year, that followed the census, happened when the hundred and twenty years were accomplished. If, therefore, this interval of time is found to consist of thirty olympiads, it must be allowed that the first consuls entered upon their magistracy in the first year of the sixty eighth olympiad; the same year that Hecagoras was archon at Athens.

LXXV. And if, from the expulsion of the kings, the time is brought back to Romulus, the first king of the city, that period will be found to comprehend two hundred and forty four years. This is known by the successions of the kings, and the number of years each of them reigned : For Romulus, the founder of Rome, is said to have reigned thirty seven years : And, after his death, the city was a year without a king : Then, Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the people, reigned forty three years : After Numa, Tullus Hostilius, thirty two : And, his successor, Ancus Marcius, twenty four : After Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, thirty eight : Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, four and forty : And Lucius Tarquinius, a tyrannical prince, and, from his contempt of justice, called Superbus, having put Servius to death, extended his reign to the twenty fifth year. The reigns, therefore, of the kings completing the number of two hundred and forty four years, and of sixty one olympiads, it follows, necessarily, that Romulus, the first king

king of the city, began his reign in the first year of the seventh olympiad, and the first year of the decennial archonship of Charops at Athens: For this the computation of the years requires: And, that each king reigned so many years, I have shewn in that treatise. This, therefore, is the account, given by those, who lived before me, and adopted by me, concerning the time of the building of this city, which, at present, is mistress of the world. As to the founders of it, who they were, by what turns of fortune they were induced to lead out the colony, and what other incidents are said to have attended the building of it, has been related by many, and, the greatest part of them, by some in a different manner; and I, also, shall mention the most probable of these relations: Thus it stands:

LXXVI. Amulius, having, by his power, excluded his elder brother Numitor from his paternal dignity; and, thereby, possessed himself of the kingdom of Alba, among many things, done by him, absolutely, in contempt of justice, he, at last, attempted to deprive Numitor's family of ²⁴³ issue,

²⁴³ Ερημον γενεσ τον οικον τον Νομιωρος
επεβλευσεν ποιησαι. I am obliged to depart from all the translators in rendering this passage: Both the Latin, and, after them, the French translators, have said, that Amulius resolved to destroy Numitor's whole family: Which sense is not to be supported, either by the Greek text, or the relation of this transaction: For the Greek words do not signify *to destroy Numitor's family*, but *to deprive it of issue*. Had Numitor designed the first, what

could have hindered him from destroying his niece, as he had destroyed his nephew? But, instead of that, he, only, sought to deprive her of all hope of issue by making her a vestal, lest she might, one day, bring forth an avenger of the wrongs done to her family, μη τεκη τιμωρον τω γενει, as our author will say presently. The most specious pretence Amulius could make use of to avert this danger, was to make his niece a vestal under the notion of doing her honor, which is agreeable to

in order to secure himself not only from the punishment, that was due to his usurpation, but, also, from being, at any time, dispossessed of the sovereignty. Having, long, resolved upon this, he, first, observed the place, where Aegeus, the son of Numitor, who was just arrived to manhood, used to hunt; and, having placed an ambush in the most hidden part of it, he caused him to be assassinated, while he was hunting; and, after the fact was committed, contrived to have it reported that the youth had been slain by robbers. However, the rumor, thus propagated, could not prevail over the truth, that was concealed: But many, not without danger, ventured to publish the fact. Numitor was informed of the assassination; but, his reason being superior to his concern, he affected ignorance, resolving to defer his resentment to a less dangerous opportunity: And Amulius, presuming the murder of the youth was, still, a secret, made use of another practice: He constituted Ilia, the daughter of Numitor, or, as some write, Rhea, surnamed Ilia, who was, then, marriageable, a priestess of Vesta, lest, if she were married, before he had so disposed of her, she might bring forth an avenger of the wrongs done to her family. These virgins, who are intrusted with the custody of the perpetual fire, and with the performance of those rites, that are appointed to be administered by virgins for the prosperity of the com-

the account given of this transaction by ¹ Livy: *Pulso fratre, Amulius regnat: Addit sceleri scelus: Stirpem fratris virilem interimit: Fratris filiae Rheae*

Silviae, per speciem honoris, quum vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

monwealth, were obliged to remain, not less than ²⁴⁴ five years, unmarried. Amulius did this, under specious pretences, as if his intention was, to confer honor, and dignity, on his brother's family; since he was neither the author of this law, which was common to all, nor his brother the first person of consideration, whom he had obliged to yield obedience to it: It being both customary and honourable, among the Albans, for maidens of the best quality to be chosen priestesses of Vesta. Numitor, finding these practices of his brother proceeded from no good intention, dissembled his resentment, lest he should incur the ill will of the people; and, also, stifled his complaints, upon this occasion.

LXXVII. The fourth year after this, Ilia, going to a grove, consecrated to Mars, to fetch pure water for the use of the sacrifices, some body ravished her. It is said by some, that the fact was committed by one of her lovers to gratify his passion; others make Amulius himself the author of it, who, designing to ruin her, rather than to satisfy his desire, had secured himself with such armour, as might render him the most terrible to the fight, and, at the same time, disguise him in the most effectual manner: But the greatest part give this fabulous account of it; that it was a spectre, representing the god, to whom the place was consecrated; they add, also, that this adventure was attended, among

²⁴⁴ Πενταετίας δὲ ἐκ ἐλαττω χρόνου. Numa made many alterations in the rules of the vestals, as our author will tell us in the next book. So that, the Greek text must not be altered to make

these institutions agree with those, as Glareanus, and Portus would correct it, whom M. * * * has followed in his translation.

other heavenly signs, with an eclipse of the sun, and a darkness spread over the Heavens: That the spectre far excelled the appearance of a man, both in stature, and in beauty; and that the ravisher, to comfort the maiden (from whence they conclude he was a god) commanded her not to be, at all, concerned at what had happened, since she had been united, by marriage, to the genius of the place; and that, by this violence, she should bring forth two sons, who should far excel all men in virtue, and military accomplishments: And, having said this, he was wrapped in a cloud, and, being lifted from the earth, was borne upwards through the air. This is not a proper place to consider what opinion we ought to entertain of these things, whether we should despise them, as human frailties, attributed to the gods; since God is incapable of any function, that is unworthy of an incorruptible, and happy nature; or whether we should admit, even, these relations, upon a supposition that all the beings of the universe are of a mixed nature; and that, between the divine and human, some third being exists, which is That of the genii, who, sometimes, mingling with the human, and, sometimes, with the divine nature, beget, as it is said, the fabled race of heroes. This, I say, is not a proper place to consider these things, and what the²⁴⁵ philosophers have said concerning them is sufficient.

²⁴⁵ Ἀρκεί τε ὅσα φιλοσοφοίς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέχθη. By these philosophers, our author, most certainly, means the followers of Plato, who had, often, heard his master Socrates discourse of these

demons, one of whom he was weak enough to say, at his trial, often, dissuaded him from doing any thing, that might be prejudicial to him. If so, that demon was very forgetful in not

¹ Plato's Apol. of Socrates.

Ilia, after this violence, pretending sickness (for this her mother advised with regard both to her own safety, and to the worship of the gods) assisted, no longer, at the sacrifices; but her duty was performed by the other virgins, who were joined with her in the same ministry.

LXXVIII. But Amulius, induced either by the knowledge of what had happened, or by a probable suspicion, inquired what might be the real cause of this long absence from the sacrifices. To satisfy himself, he sent some physicians to her, whom he, chiefly, confided in; and, because the women pretended her indisposition must be kept secret from men, he left his wife to observe her. She, having, by womens conjectures, discovered what was a secret to others, informed her husband of it; who, lest she should be delivered in private (for she was, now, near her time) appointed her to be guarded by armed men: And, summoning his brother to the senate, he, not only, informed them of the deflowering of his niece, with which, the rest of the world were unacquainted, but accused her parents of being

dissuading him from making that acknowledgment. This notion Plato improved; and, with more poetry, than philosophy, made them the necessary instruments of the supreme BEING, in the creation of the universe; for fear, it seems, that, if GOD had created every thing in it HIMSELF, his creatures might have been immortal, like HIMSELF. How much more philosophical is that all-creating word in Moses, and the swift obedience, that

followed it, ^s Γενεσθω, και ενελε? But, to consider Plato, in the only light he ought to be considered in, upon this occasion, there can be nothing more poetical, than his description of Jupiter riding through the heavens in his winged chariot at the head of the gods, and demons: His words are these; ^t Ο μιν δη μεγας ἡγεμων εν θρανῳ Ζευς, πῆλινον ἄρμα ελαυνῶν, πρῶτος πορευεῖται διακοσμων παντα, και επιμελεσμενος τῷ δ' ἐπέλαι στρατια θεων τε και δαιμονων.

^s Genesis i. 3.

^t In Φαιδ.

her accomplices, and ordered him to conceal nothing, but to bring all to light. Numitor said he was surprised at what he heard; and, protesting his innocence of every thing that was alledged, desired time to inquire into the truth of it. Having obtained, with difficulty, this delay, and, being informed, by his wife, of the whole, in the manner his daughter had, at first, related it, he acquainted the senate with the violence committed by the god, and also, with what he had said concerning the twins, and desired the credit of what he had advanced might depend upon the event, by which it would appear whether the fruit of her delivery was such, as the god had foretold: For the time of her ²⁴⁶ delivery being near at hand, the fraud, if any, would, soon, appear. To support what he said, he ²⁴⁷ offered that

²⁴⁶. Και γὰρ τὴν κορὴν ὅμῃ τι εἶναι τῷ τικτεῖν. This, and the next sentence are omitted in the Vatican manuscript, I suppose, by the fault of the transcriber. Both Sylburgius, and Casaubon have attempted to change the structure of this phrase. I believe the reader will think it runs very well in the manner I have altered it from the editions; particularly, since I have only changed the order of the words, which, as they, before, stood, were unharmonious. ὅμῃ is very Attic Greek for εἶγυς, as will be seen both from the following passage of Aristophanes, and from the Greek scholiast's observation upon it;

Ὁ κοπιόλης δηλὸς αὐτῶν, ὥς ὈΜΟΥ προσκειμένων^v.

Upon which the scholiast says, τὸ ὅμῃ λεγέσθιν Ἀττικοὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εἶγυς.

^v Ἰππ. γ. 245.

²⁴⁷. Παρεδίδε. The Latin translators have rendered this word, very properly, *ad quaestionem offerebat*. As δαλον παραδιδόναι is the Greek term *to deliver up a slave to be questioned by torments*; so δαλον εξαίειν is the term *to demand a slave* for that purpose. There is an example of both in this sentence of ^w Demosthenes; Εἰ δὲ τὸ πραγμα' ἀν' ἐξελεγχθῆναι ζηλῶν, ΕΞΗΤΗΣΕΝ ἀν' με τοῦ παιδὰ τὸν γραφοντὰ τὰς μαρτυρίας, ἵν', εἰ ΠΑΡΕΔΙΔΟΥΝ, μὴδὲν δίκαιον λεγέειν εἴδοικεν. Le Jay did not like the word, and, for that reason, he has left it out. The other French translator has given something like the sense of it: Thus he has said; *et qu'on procédât à l'examen de cette affaire par toutes les voies qu'on jugeroit à propos*.

^w Προς Αφῶν.

the women, who attended his daughter, might be examined upon the rack; and submitted to every method, that might lead to the discovery of the truth. This was approved of by the senate: But Amulius insisted that his pretensions were, highly, unreasonable, and endeavoured, by all means, to destroy his niece. While these things were in agitation, those, who had been appointed to keep guard at the delivery, appeared, and gave an account that Ilia was brought to bed of two male children. Numitor, then, pressed, vehemently, what he had, before, alledged, shewing the whole to be the work of the god; and begged that no violent sentence might pass against his daughter, who was innocent. On the other side, Amulius pretended that, even, in the delivery, there was some human contrivance, and that the women had provided another child, either unknown to the guards, or with their assistance: And a great deal was said to this purpose. When the senators found the king was inexorable, they, also, determined, in the manner he desired, that the law should be put in execution, which provides that a vestal, who suffers herself to be defiled, shall be whipped with rods, and put to death, and her offspring thrown into the river.²⁴⁸ Now, the pontifical law ordains that she shall be buried alive.

LXXIX. Hitherto, the greatest part of the historians agree, or differ, very little, from one another; some coming nearer to fables, and others to probability: But they differ in what follows. Some say that Ilia was put to death imme-

²⁴⁸. *Nov μυστοί*, etc. See the 244th annotation.

diately;

diately; others, that she remained in a ²⁴⁹ secret prison under a guard; which made the people believe she was put to death privately: The same authors say, that Amulius condescended to this, at the earnest desire of his daughter, who begged the life of her cousin: For, being brought up together, and of the same age, they loved each other, like sisters: And that Amulius, in favor to her, as she was his only daughter, saved Ilia from death, but kept her confined in a secret prison; and, that she was, at length, set at liberty, after the death of Amulius. Thus, do the ancient authors vary concerning Ilia: However, both opinions carry with them an appearance of truth; for which reason, I have, also, made mention of them both. The reader himself will know which to believe. But, concerning her children, Quinctus Fabius, called Pictor, whom Lucius Cincius, Cato Porcius, Calpurnius Piso, and the greatest part of the other historians have followed, writes thus; “ That, by the order
“ of Amulius, some of the king’s officers took the children,
“ in a ²⁵⁰ cradle, and carried them to the river, distant from

²⁴⁹ Εν εἰρηλῇ ἀδηλω. Portus, and le Jay have rendered this *an obscure prison*, which is equivocal: For it was not the obscurity, that is, the darkness, of the prison, which made the people believe she was put to death; but the secrecy of it. Sylburgius, and the other French translator, have rendered it very well.

²⁵⁰ Σκαφῇ. * Livy, in speaking of this adventure, calls this, *alveus*; *quum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset*;

* B. i. c. 4.

and both the Latin translators have, very judiciously, followed him. When I call it *a cradle*, I do not mean a wicker, but a wooden cradle, which are, still, very common abroad: Otherwise, I should have fallen into the same error with le Jay, who calls it *un panier, a basket*, which is not very well calculated *to float, fluitare*, in Livy, and *πηχεῖσαι* in our author. The other French translator, has, also, called it *un berceau*.

“ the

“ the city about a hundred and twenty stadia, with a design
 “ to throw them into it. When they drew near, and per-
 “ ceived that the Tiber, swelled by continual rains, had
 “ exceeded its natural bed, and overflowed the plains, they
 “ came down from the top of the Pallantine hill, to that part
 “ of the water, that lay nearest (for they could advance no
 “ further) and set down the cradle upon the flood, where it
 “ washed the foot of the hill: The cradle floated for some
 “ time; then, as the waters retired by degrees from the
 “ utmost verge, striking against a stone, it overturned, and
 “ threw out the children, who lay crying, and wallowing
 “ in the mud. Upon this, a she-wolf, that had just whelped,
 “ appeared; and, her teats being distended with milk, gave
 “ them her paps to suck, and, with her tongue, licked
 “ off the mud, with which they were besmeared. In
 “ the mean time, some shepherds happened to be driving
 “ their flocks to pasture (for the place was now become
 “ passable) and one of them, seeing the wolf, thus, cherish-
 “ ing the children, was, for some time, struck dumb with
 “ astonishment, and disbelief of what he saw: Then,
 “ going away, and getting together as many as he could of
 “ the shepherds, who kept their flocks near at hand (for
 “ they would not believe what he said) he carried them to
 “ see the sight themselves: When these, also, drew near,
 “ and saw the wolf cherishing the children, as if they had
 “ been her young ones, and the children hanging on her,
 “ as on their mother, they imagined they saw something
 “ divine, and advanced together, hallooing, to terrify the
 “ creature:

“ creature: The wolf, not much frightened at the approach
 “ of the men, but, as if she had been tame, withdrew, gently,
 “ from the children, and went away, greatly, despising the
 “ rabble of shepherds. For there was, not far off, a holy
 “ place, covered with a thick wood, and a hollow rock,
 “ from whence springs issued: This wood was said to be
 “ consecrated to Pan, and there was an altar, dedicated to
 “ that god: When she came to this place, she hid herself.
 “ This grove is, no longer, extant; but the cave, from whence
 “ the fountain flows, is contiguous to the Palatine buildings,
 “ and to be seen in the way, that leads to the Circus;
 “ and near it, stands a temple, in which a statue is placed,
 “ representing this incident: It is a ²⁵¹ wolf suckling two

²⁵¹ Λυκαίνα, etc. This groupe; representing the wolf giving suck to Romulus and Remus is, certainly, not the same with That, said, by ^y Cicero, to have been struck with lightning in the consulship of Cotta, and Torquatus, who were consuls two years before him, that is, in the year of Rome 689; because, he says, That stood in the capitol, and the other, we find, by our author, was placed in the temple, which stood near the cave, that was joined to the buildings of the Palatine hill. This temple was the temple of Romulus, erected near the *Ficus Ruminalis*, so called, as ^z Pliny says, *quoniam sub eâ inventa est lupa infantibus praebens rumen, ita vocabant mammam, miraculo ex aere juxta dicato*. This groupe of figures was placed here in the consulship of Quintus Fabius Rullus, and Publius Decius Mus, in the 446th year of Rome, as we find by ^a Livy,

ad ficum ruminalem simulacra infantum conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt; he means Cneius and Quintus Ogulnius, who were, then, *curule aediles*. The statue, mentioned by Cicero, is, still, to be seen in the capitol, with one of the hinder legs hurt with lightning; and was designed to have been here represented: This wolf is very unlike the common wolves, and seems to be the kind of wolf they call in France, *un loup cerviér*, Λυκοπάρθη: It is a fierce animal, and does a vast deal of mischief. As there were, no doubt, many statues representing this very extraordinary event, it cannot be known which ^b Virgil refers to in this fine description of it:

*geminos huic ubera circum
 Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
 Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
 Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua.*

^y Cat. iii. c. 8.

^z B. xv. c. 18.

^a B. x. c. 23.

^b Aeneid. B. viii. v. 613.

“ children;

“ children ; they are in brass, and of ancient workmanship :
“ This place is said to have been consecrated by the Ar-
“ cadians, who, with Evander, formerly, built their habi-
“ tations there. As soon as the wolf was gone, the shep-
“ herds took up the children ; and, as the gods seemed to
“ interest themselves in their preservation, were very desirous
“ to bring them up. There was, among them, an overseer
“ of the king’s swineherds, whose name was Faustulus, a
“ man of humanity, who had been in town, upon some
“ necessary business, at the time, when the deflowering of
“ Ilia, and her delivery were made public : And, after that,
“ when the children were carrying to the river, he, going
“ to Pallantium, by divine appointment, went the same road
“ with those, who were carrying them : This man, without
“ giving the least notice to the rest that he knew any thing
“ of the affair, desired the children might be delivered to him ;
“ and, having received them by general consent, he carried
“ them home to his wife : Where, finding her just brought
“ to bed, and grieving that the child was dead, he com-
“ forted her, and gave her these children to substitute in its
“ room, informing her, from the beginning, of all the cir-
“ cumstances relating to them. And, as they grew up, he
“ gave to one, the name of Romulus, and to the other, That
“ of Remus. When they came to be men, they shewed
“ themselves, both in dignity of aspect, and elevation of
“ mind, not like swineherds, and neatherds, but such, as we
“ might suppose those to be, who are born of royal race, and
“ looked upon as the offspring of the gods ; and as such
“ they

“ they are, still, celebrated, by the Romans, in the hymns
 “ of their country. But their life was That of herdsmen ;
 “ they lived by their own labor, and, generally, on the
 “ mountains in cottages ²⁵² of one story, which they built
 “ with wood, and reeds : Of which, ²⁵³ one, called the cot-
 “ tage of Romulus, remains, even, to this day, in the corner,
 “ as you turn from the Palatine hill to the Circus ; which
 “ is preserved holy by those, to whom the care of these
 “ things is committed, who add to it no ornaments to render
 “ it more august : But, if any part of it is injured either by
 “ storms, or time, they repair that injury, and observe to
 “ restore it, as near as possible, to its former condition.
 “ When Romulus, and Remus, were about eighteen years
 “ of age, they had some dispute, about the pasture, with
 “ Numitor’s herdsmen, whose oxen were stationed on the
 “ Aventine hill, which is opposite to the Palatine hill. They,
 “ frequently, accused one another, either of feeding those
 “ pastures, that did not belong to them, or of appropriating
 “ to themselves Those, that were common, or of any thing

²⁵². Αὐλοφῶγος. The Latin transla-
 tors have rendered this very well, *sine*
ullâ contignatione. Both the French
 translators have left it out.

²⁵³. Ὡς εἰς καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν τις. This is
 not the *casa Romuli*, that stood in the
 capitol, to which ^c Virgil alludes in
 the following verses.

In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, et capitolia celsa tenebat,
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.

^c Aeneid, B. viii. v. 652.

The last was the *curia calabria*, as Ser-
 vius says upon this verse, *ad quam ca-*
labatur, that is, *vocabatur senatus*. The
 other stood in another part of the city,
 as we find by Dionysius. It is very
 possible that the veneration the Ro-
 mans had for their founder, might
 have engaged them to erect, in the
 capitol, a cottage resembling the for-
 mer. This in the capitol was burned
 in the time of Caesar, afterwards ^d Au-
 gustus, and in the 716th year of Rome.

^d Dio, B. xlviii. p. 437.

“ else, that offered itself. From this altercation, they had re-
 “ course, sometimes, to blows, and, then, to arms. Numitor’s
 “ men, having received many wounds from the youths, and
 “ lost some of their people, and being, now, driven, by force,
 “ from the places in contest, they formed a strategem against
 “ them : And, having placed an ambuscade in the hidden
 “ part of the valley, and concerted the time of the attack with
 “ those, who lay in wait for the youths, the rest, in a body,
 “ assaulted their folds. It happened that Romulus, at that
 “ time, was gone to a place, called Caenina, together with
 “ the chief men of the village, to offer sacrifices for the
 “ public, according to the custom of the country : But
 “ Remus, being informed of their coming, armed himself
 “ in all haste, and, with a few of the villagers, who had,
 “ first, got together, went out to oppose them : But they,
 “ instead of receiving him, retired, in ²⁵⁴ order to draw him
 “ to the place, where, by facing about, they might attack
 “ him with advantage : Remus, being unacquainted with
 “ the strategem, pursued them a great way, till he passed

²⁵⁴ Υπαγομενοι. This, Casaubon says, very justly, signifies *hostem allicere*. I mention this in justice to him, as I have, always, mentioned every author, whose assistance I have made use of. To his authority I shall add some observations of my own. There is a passage in a treatise of Xenophon, intitled Ιππαρχικος, which, it is supposed, he writ for the instruction of his son Gryllus, that seems calculated to explain this of our author : Ετι δε τω μεν κρυπτας εχοντι φυλακας εξεσαι μεν φανεροις ολιγοις εμπροσθεν των κρυπτων φυλακισιν

περιεσθαι της πολεμικης εις ενεδρας ΥΠΑΓΕΙΝ. It is remarkable that ὑπο, when placed before verbs, substantives and adjectives, generally, implies *deceit*. I cannot put an end to this note, without taking notice, that le Jay is the only translator, who has expressed the sense of this word : He has said *pour l’attirer dans l’ambuscade*. I wish that, instead of leaving out ὑποσεψυλεις, he had rendered it by an expression, which his language would have furnished him with, I mean, *en faisant volte-face*.

“ the

“ the place, where the rest lay in ambush, who, upon that,
 “ rose up, and, at the same time, the others, who had fled,
 “ faced about; and, having surrounded them, they over-
 “ whelmed them with stones, and took them prisoners:
 “ For they had received orders from their masters, to bring
 “ the youths to them alive. Thus, Remus was taken, and
 “ carried away.”

LXXX. But Aelius Tubero, a man of great sagacity, and very careful in collecting historical transactions, writes, that Numitor's people, knowing, beforehand, that the youths were to perform an Arcadian sacrifice to the god Pan, pursuant to the institution of Evander, called ²⁵⁵ *Luper-*

²⁵⁵ Λυκαία. M. * * * quotes Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, to prove that this festival, called by the Romans *Lupercalia*, received its name from the she-wolf, that suckled Romulus, and Remus. I have that passage in Plutarch, now, before me; and all, he says to favor this opinion, is, that it is possible this festival may have received its name from the she-wolf; because the *Luperci* begin their course from the place, where it was said that Romulus had been exposed. But he says, in the same place, that the name of this festival was Greek; and, for that reason, the festival seemed to be very ancient, and derived from the Arcadians, who came into Italy with Evander. And, indeed, there is no room to doubt of its being derived from them: For we find, by this passage of our author, that this was a customary festival celebrated by the inhabitants of Pallan-

tium, long before Romulus and Remus were born. This is confirmed by ^e Livy, whose authority, joined to That of our author, will be sufficient, I should think, to stop the currency of this mistake; he is speaking of the same transaction: *Jam tum in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt; et a Pallanteourbe Arcadica Pallantium, deinde Palatinum montem appellatum: ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus ea tenuerat loca, solenne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi juvenes, Lyceum Pana venerantes, per lusum atque lasciviam currerent.* ^f This Lycaean Pan, in whose honor this festival was celebrated, was called so from the Lycaean mountain in Arcadia, which gave name to this festival, called by the Greeks, Λυκαία, which word cannot, with any propriety, be derived from *λυκαίνα*, a she-wolf.

^e B. i. c. 5. ^f Pausanias in Arcad. c. 38.

calia, took the opportunity of this sacrifice to lay in wait for them at the time, when the youth of Pallantium, were, after sacrifice, to proceed from the Lupercal, and run round the village naked, wearing about their middle, a covering made of the skins of the victims, newly, sacrificed. This ceremony implies a certain customary purification of the inhabitants, which is performed, even, to this day, in the same manner. Those, therefore, who had a design upon the youths, took this time to place themselves in ambush in a narrow way, in order to seize them: While these were employed in the sacrifice, and, when the first band with Remus drew near, That with Romulus, and the rest, being behind, (for they were divided into three bands, and ran at a distance from one another) without staying for the others, they set up a shout, and all fell upon the first; and, surrounding them, some threw darts at them, others, stones, and others, whatever they had in their hands: These, surprised at this unexpected attack, and at a loss how to behave themselves, unarmed against armed men, were, easily, taken. Remus, being in the power of the enemy, was carried to Alba in the condition, he was in, when taken; or, as Fabius relates, in chains. When Romulus heard of his brother's misfortune, he resolved to follow, immediately, with the stoutest of the herdsmen, in hope to overtake Remus upon the road. But Faustulus, seeing the folly of the undertaking, dissuaded him from it: For, being looked upon as the father of the youths, he had, hitherto, kept every thing a secret from

from them, lest they should venture upon some hazzardous enterprize, before they were in their prime. But, now, being compelled by necessity, he took Romulus aside, and acquainted him with the whole. When the youth heard, from the beginning, every circumstance of their fortune, he was penetrated both with compassion for his mother, and solicitude for Numitor; and, having long consulted with Faustus, he determined to desist from the present undertaking, and, with greater preparation of strength, to free his whole family from the oppression of Amulius; resolving to ingage in the greatest dangers for the sake of the greatest rewards, but to act in concert with his grandfather, and to do, whatever he should direct.

LXXXI. These measures being looked upon as the most adviseable, Romulus called together all the inhabitants of the village, and desired them to go, immediately, to Alba, but not all at the same gates, nor in a body, to prevent any suspicion in the citizens; and, having appointed them to stay in the market-place, and be ready to do whatever they should be ordered, he went, first, into the city. In the mean time, those, who had the charge of Remus, brought him before the king, and informed him of all the abuses they had received from the youths, producing their ²⁵⁶ wounded, and threatening, if they found no redress, to leave their herds. Amulius, desiring to please both the country people, who were come to him

²⁵⁶ Τραυματίας. I do not understand why the Latin translators have rendered this word *vulnera*, as if our author had written τραυμαία. However, both the French translators have thought fit to follow them,

in great numbers, and Numitor (for he happened to be present, and looked upon himself as injured in his clients) and longing to see peace restored to the country, and, at the same time, suspecting the boldness of the youth, and the intrepidity, that appeared in his discourse, he gave judgement against him: But left his punishment to Numitor, saying, “ that he, who had done the injury, could be
“ punished by none so justly, as by him, who had received
“ it.” While Numitor’s herdsmen were carrying away Remus, with his hands bound behind him, and insulting him, Numitor followed; and, not only admired the gracefulness, and majesty of his person, but, also, observed the greatness of his mind, which he preserved, even, in distress, not suing for mercy (which all do under such afflictions) but, with a becoming silence, meeting his fate. As soon as they were arrived at his house, he ordered all the rest to withdraw; and Remus, being left alone, he asked him, who he was, and of what parents; as not believing such a man could be, meanly, born. Remus answered, that he only knew, by the account he had received from the person, who brought him up, that he, with his twin-brother, had been exposed in a wood, as soon as they were born; and that, being taken from thence by the herdsmen, he was brought up by them. Upon which, Numitor, after a short pause, either suspecting something of the truth, or Heaven designing to bring the matter to light, said to him; “ I need not inform you, Remus, that
“ it depends upon me to punish you in such a manner, as I
“ think

“ think fit; and, that those, who have brought you hither,
 “ having received many dreadful injuries from you, are,
 “ extremely, desirous you should be put to death : All this
 “ you know : But, if I should free you from death, and
 “ every other punishment, would you acknowledge the
 “ obligation, and serve me, when I desire your assistance, in
 “ an affair, that will conduce to the advantage of us both ?”

The youth having, in answer to him, said every thing which the hopes of life prompt those, who are in despair of it, to say, and promise to the person, on whom their fate depends, he ordered his chains to be taken off; and, commanding every body to leave the place, he acquainted him with his own misfortunes; that, Amulius, though his brother, had deprived him both of his kingdom, and his children; that he had assassinated his son, while he was hunting, and kept his daughter chained in prison, and, in all other respects, treated him as a master treats his slave.

LXXXII. Having said this, and accompanied his discourse with great lamentations, he intreated Remus to revenge the injuries done to his family. The youth, cheerfully, embracing the overture, and desiring his command to begin the action immediately, Numitor, after he had commended his alacrity, said; “ I will take upon
 “ me to find a proper time for the enterprize; in the mean
 “ while, do you send, privately, to your brother, and ac-
 “ quaint him that your life is safe, and that you desire him
 “ to come hither in all haste.” Upon this, a proper person
 was

was sent; who, meeting Romulus not far from the city, delivered his message; with which the other, being, exceedingly, rejoiced, made haste to Numitor; and, having imbraced them both, he gave them an account in what manner they had been exposed, and brought up, and of all the other circumstances he had learned from Faustus: They, who desired this relation might be true, and wanted not many arguments to induce them to believe it, heard what he said with pleasure; and, as soon as they knew one another, they consulted together, and considered what means, and what time might be the most proper for the execution of their design. While they were, thus, employed, Faustus was carried before Amulius: For, being apprehensive, lest the information of Romulus might not be credited by Numitor, in an affair of so great moment without manifest proof, he, soon after, followed him to town, taking the cradle with him as a token of the exposition of the children. While he entered the gates in great disorder, taking all possible pains to hide what he carried, one of the guards observed him (for an incursion of the enemy was apprehended, and the guard of the gates committed to those, who were in the greatest trust with the king) and laid hold of him; and, insisting upon knowing what it was he concealed, by force, threw back his garment: As soon as he saw the cradle, and found the man in confusion, he desired to know the cause of his disorder, and what he meant by carrying, privately, an utensil, that required no such secrecy. In
the

the mean time, more of the guards flocked to them, and one of them knew the cradle, having himself carried the children in it to the river ; of which he informed those, who were present. Upon this, they seized Faustus ; and, carrying him to the king himself, acquainted him with all that had passed. Amulius, threatening the man to put him to the torture, if he did not, willingly, tell the truth, first, asked him, if the children were alive ; and, finding they were, he desired to know in what manner they had been preserved. After the other had given him a full account of every thing, as it happened, “ Well, says the king, since you have, hitherto, ²⁵⁷ spoken the truth, say, where, they may, now, be found : For it is not just that they, who are my relations, should, any longer, live, ingloriously, among herdsmen ; particularly, since the gods themselves have taken care of their preservation.”

LXXXIII. But Faustus, suspecting, from this unaccountable kindness, that his designs were not agreeable to his professions, answered him in this manner : “ The youths are upon the mountains, tending their herds, according to their way of life ; and I was sent, by them, to their mother, to give her an account of their situation ; when, hearing that she was in your custody, I proposed to desire your daughter to bring me to her : And I brought the cradle with me, that I might support my words with a

²⁵⁷. Αληθευσας εχεις. This is Attic elegance for ηληθευσας. The learned reader, who is acquainted with the best

Greek authors, will, easily, recollect many examples of this Atticism.

“ manifest proof. Since, therefore, you have determined to
 “ have the youths conveyed hither, I not only rejoice at it, but
 “ desire you to send such persons with me, as you think proper:
 “ I will shew them the youths, and they shall acquaint them
 “ with your commands.” This he said in order to delay their
 death, hoping, at the same time, to make his escape from
 those, ²⁵⁸ who were to bring the youths to the king, as soon
 as he arrived on the mountains. Amulius sent, immediately,
 some of his guards, in whom he, chiefly, confided, with
 private orders, to seize, and bring before him, the persons,
 whom the herdsman should shew to them. Having done this,
 he, presently, determined to lay his brother under a ²⁵⁹ gentle
 restraint, till he had ordered the present business to his
 satisfaction; and, in that view, he sent for him, upon some

²⁵⁸. Τῆς ἀγωγῆς. Both the Latin translators have applied these words to the men, who were to be sent by Amulius, in order to conduct Faustulus: Not a word of which has been mentioned by our author. On the contrary, Faustulus was to conduct them to the place, where they might see the youths, in order to bring them to the king: And, to them, in this capacity, I have applied those words. Both the French translators have followed the others.

²⁵⁹. ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδεσμῷ. This expression is very common in the Greek authors. And, thus, ^ε Thucydides says, that Παχὺς Ἰππῖαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδεσμῷ εἶχε. The Latin translators have rendered it in *liberâ custodiâ*, which was the very

term in use among the Romans for this kind of custody: The method of which was, for the person suspected to be delivered to some magistrate, or senator, who was to see him forth coming. Thus, we find, in ^h Salust, that Catiline's accomplices were disposed of: *Senatus decernit, ut, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus, itemque caeteri, in liberis custodiis habeantur: Itaque Lentulus, P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat; Cethegus, Q. Conificio; Statilius, C. Caesari; Gabinius, M. Crasso; Ceparius, Cn. Terentio senatori, traduntur.* Le Jay has rendered these words, pretty well, *le garder à veüe*. His countryman has translated them very unfortunately, *le garder dans une prison libre*.

^ε B. iii. c. 34.

^h De Bell. Cat. c. 47.

other pretence : But, the messenger, induced both by his affection to the person in danger, and commiseration of his fate, informed Numitor of the design of Amulius. Upon which, the former, having acquainted the youths with their danger, and exhorted them to behave bravely, led them armed to the palace, together with a considerable number of his clients, and friends, and such of his domestics, as he could rely on : These were joined by a strong party of the country men, from the market-place, who had, before, entered the city with swords, concealed under their clothes : And, having, by a general attack, forced the entrance, which was defended by a few of the guards, they, easily, slew Amulius, and, afterwards, made themselves masters of the citadel. This is the account Fabius gives.

LXXXIV. But others, who hold that every thing, which has the appearance of a fable, ought to be banished from history, maintain that the exposition of the children, by the officers, contrary to their orders, is void of all probability, and laugh at the tameness of the wolf, that suckled them, as an incident, fraught with theatrical absurdity : Instead of which, they give this account of the matter : That Numitor, finding Ilia was with child, procured other new-born children ; and, after she was brought to bed, substituted these in the room of the others, ordering those, who, attended her delivery, to carry to Amulius the supposititious children (having either secured their fidelity by money, or contrived this exchange by the help of women.) These children, being brought to Amulius, he, by some means, or other, made

them away. As to those, that were born of Ilia, their grandfather, who was, above all things, solicitous for their preservation, delivered them to Faustus: They add, that this Faustus was an Arcadian by extraction, descended from those Arcadians, who came over with Evander: That he lived on the Palatine hill, and ²⁶⁰ had the care of Amulius' demains: That he was prevailed on by his brother, named Faustinus, who had the superintendence of Numitor's herds, that fed on the Aventine hill, to gratify Numitor, in bringing up the children: And that the nurse, who suckled them, was not a she-wolf, but (as may well be supposed) a woman, who was wife to Faustus, by name, Laurentia, who, having, formerly, prostituted her beauty, was, by the inhabitants of the Palatine hill, furnamed *Lupa*; which was an ancient Greek appellation, given to women, who prostituted themselves for gain, who are, now, called, by a more decent name, *Εταῖραι*, *Friends*: And that some, who were ignorant of this, invented the fable of the she-wolf; that wild beast being called, in the Latin language, ²⁶¹ *Lupa*:

^{260.} Επιμελειαν εχουσα των Αμυλίου κτημάτων. I do not understand why the two French translators, and Portus, have rendered this sentence, *having care of the flocks of Amulius*; that being the sense in their respective languages. How much better has Sylburgius rendered it, *res Amulii procurasse*? That κτημάτα has this extensive signification may be seen in Hesychius; κτημάτα, says he, παντα τα υπαρχοντα.

^{261.} Λυπαν. M. *** says, upon this occasion, that he does not comprehend

what Dionysius means; and that Plutarch reasons better, when he says, in the life of Romulus, that the Latines called *Lupas* not only she-wolves, but women of ill lives. This confirms, rather than contradicts what our author says. For the Latines, at the time of Romulus, at least, the descendants of the Greek colonies, certainly, spoke Greek; which appears by another passage of Plutarch, quoted by himself in the same note, where it is said that the Greek language, in the

They

They say, also, that, after the children were weaned, they were sent by those, who had the charge of their education, to Gabii, a town, not far from Pallantium, to be instructed in Greek learning; and that, there, they were brought up by some persons, with whom Faustus had a private intercourse of hospitality, where they employed their time, till they arrived to manhood, in learning letters, music, and the use of Greek arms: And that, after their return to their supposed parents, a difference arose between them, and Numitor's herdsmen concerning their common pastures: That, upon this, they beat Numitor's men, and drove away their cattle: That they did all this by Numitor's direction, to the intent that it might serve as a foundation for his complaints, and, at the same time, to the herdsmen, as a pretence to come to town in great numbers: That, after this, Numitor raised a clamor against Amulius, saying he was, severely, used, and plundered by the herdsmen of Amulius; desiring, likewise, that, if he had no share in the abuse, he would deliver up the herdsman, and his sons, to be tried by the laws: That Amulius, being willing to clear himself of this accusation, ordered, not only, those, who were complained of, but all the rest, who were accused of having been present at

time of Romulus, which was spoken, as he owns, by the Romans, and Albans, was not, yet, corrupted by *Italian* words: For so that gentleman ought to have rendered that passage of Plutarch, who does not say των Λατινων, as he has translated it, but των Ιταλικων: And this mistake, which I am afraid is owing to his quoting this passage

from some French translation, induced him to think, that Plutarch is not consistent with himself. If, therefore, the Latines called a common woman *lupa*, it must have been an old Greek word, as our author says: And, that it is so, appears from a writer of undoubted authority, I mean Hesychius, who explains λυπα, by εταιρα, πορνη.

those

those transactions, to come, and take their trial before Numitor : And that great numbers coming to town, together with the accused, to attend this trial, the grandfather of the youths acquainted them with all the circumstances of their fortune ; and, telling them that now, if ever, was the time to revenge themselves, he, presently, made the attempt upon Amulius with the band of herdsmen. These, therefore, are the accounts, that are given of the birth, and education of the founders of Rome.

LXXXV. As to the events, that happened at the very time of its foundation (for this part still remains) I shall, now, begin to relate them. After Numitor had recovered his kingdom by the death of Amulius, and had spent a little time in restoring the city, from the late usurpation, to its former state, he, presently, thought of providing a particular sovereignty for the youths, by building another city. At the same time, the inhabitants being much increased in number, he thought it good policy to dispose of some part of them ; particularly, of those, who had, before, been his enemies, lest he might have cause to suspect any of his subjects. Having, therefore, communicated this design to the youths, and they, also, approving it, he gave them those territories in sovereignty, where they had been brought up in their infancy ; and, for subjects, not only, that part of the people, which he suspected of a design to raise new troubles, but, also, such, as were willing to leave their country. Among these (as it, usually, happens, when colonies are sent out) there were great numbers of the common people ; and
not

not a few, also, of distinguished rank, and of those Trojans, who were esteemed the most considerable for their birth (some of whose posterity remain to this day) consisting of about fifty families. The youths were supplied with money, arms, and corn, with slaves, and beasts of burden, and every thing else, that was of use in the building of a city. After they had led their people out of Alba, and intermixed them with the inhabitants, that, still, remained in Pallantium, and Saturnia, they divided the whole body into two parts: This they did, in hope of raising an emulation, to the intent that, by this contest with each other, the work might be the sooner finished. However, it produced the greatest of evils, discord: For each division, celebrating their own leader, extolled him, as the proper person to command them all. And they themselves, being, now, no longer, unanimous, or entertaining brotherly sentiments for one another, but, each affecting to command the other, they despised equality, and aimed at superiority. For some time, their ambition lay concealed; but, afterwards, broke out, on the following occasion: They had not both made choice of the same place for the building of the city; Romulus chose the Palatine hill, to which he was induced, among other reasons, by the fortune of the place, where they had been preserved, and brought up: Remus pitched upon the ground, now, called from him, Remuria. This place is very proper for a city, being a hill, not far from the Tiber, distant from Rome, about thirty stadia. From this contest,

their

their ²⁶² unfociable love of rule, presently, shewed itself: For it was evident that, which soever gained the ascendant, on this occasion, he would preserve it, on all others.

LXXXVI. Some time having been, thus, employed, and their discord, in no degree, abating, they agreed to refer the matter to their grandfather; and, for that purpose, went to Alba: He advised them to leave it to the determination of the gods, which of them should give name to, and have the command of, the colony: And, having appointed a day, he ordered them to place themselves, early in the morning, at a distance from one another, in such stations, as each of them should think proper: And, after they had offered up to the gods the customary sacrifices, to observe the auspicious birds: And, that he, to whom the most favourable, first appeared, should have the command of the colony. The youths, approving of this, went away; and, according to their agreement, appeared on the day appointed: Romulus chose, for his station, the Palatine hill, where he proposed settling the colony; and Remus the Aventine hill, contiguous to it; or, according to others, Remuria: A guard attended them both, to prevent their reporting things, otherwise than as they appeared. When they had taken their respective stations, Romulus, after a short pause, from

²⁶² Φιλαρχία. Nothing can be more beautiful than the short reflection of Livy upon the ambition of these two brothers. *Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido.* I need not observe to the learned reader,

that, when Livy calls the ambition of Romulus and Remus, *an hereditary evil*, he alludes to That of Amulius, which led him to defeat Numitor, who was, also, his brother, and their grandfather, of his right to the crown.

¹ B. i. c. 6.

eagerness, and envy to his brother (though, possibly, Heaven might have as great a share in it as envy) before he saw any omen, sent messengers to his brother, desiring him to come, immediately, as if he had, first, seen auspicious birds. In the mean time, the persons he sent, making no great haste, as ashamed of the fraud, six vultures appeared to Remus, flying from the right: He, seeing the birds, greatly, rejoiced. And, not long after, Romulus' messengers, taking him from his seat, brought him to the Palatine hill: When they were together, Remus asked Romulus, what birds he had, first, seen? To which he knew not what to answer. But, at the same time, twelve auspicious vultures were seen flying. Upon seeing these, he took courage; and, shewing the birds to Remus, said, "Why do you desire to know what happened before? Since, you see these birds yourself." This Remus resented; and, complaining, violently, that he was deceived by him, protested he would never depart from his right to the colony.

LXXXVII. This increased their animosity, each of them, secretly, aiming at superiority, and, openly, using these arguments, not to yield to his antagonist: For their grandfather had determined that he, to whom the most favourable birds, ²⁶³ first, appeared, should have the command of

²⁶³. *Προτέρων*. I cannot, upon this occasion, omit pointing out to the reader both the exactness of the Greek language, and our author's attention in observing it. He is speaking here of two persons only; consequently, *πρώτον* would not have been so proper as *πρότερον*. It is very possible this

observation may appear trifling to some people: But I desire them to consider, that these distinctions are the parents of elegance, and perspicuity. And, that this distinction is not imaginary, may be proved from Philostratus: *το μὲν πρότερον*, says he, *λεγέται ἐπὶ δύο, το δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ πολλῶν*.

the colony : And the same kind of birds having been seen by both, one had the advantage of seeing them the first ; and the other, That of seeing the greater number. The people, also, espoused their quarrel ; and, having armed themselves without orders from their leaders, began the war ; and a sharp battle ensued, in which, many were slain on both sides : In this battle, Faustulus, who had brought up the youths, being desirous to put an end to the contest of the two brothers, and, unable to succeed in it, as some say, threw himself, unarmed, into the middle of the combatants, seeking the speediest death ; which fell out accordingly. It is said, also, by some, that the lion of stone, which stood in the principal part of the Forum, near the rostra, was placed over the body of Faustulus, where he fell, and had been buried by those, who found it. Remus being slain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a most melancholy victory, stained with the blood of his brother, and the mutual slaughter of his people, buried Remus at Remuria, since, when alive, he had been fond of building there. And, as to himself, being oppressed with grief, and repentance for what had happened, he ²⁶⁴ cast himself upon the ground, and was lost to all regard of life. But Laurentia, who had received them, when, newly, born, and brought them up, and loved them no less than a mother, intreating, and comforting him, he rose up, at her

²⁶⁴. Παρεis εαυτον· Παρεis, επικα-
 κλινας· Και παρεis εαυτον υπο λυπης, εκει-
 Suidas. I mention this, because the
 French translators have left out this
 circumstance, which obliged them,
 also, to leave out another circumstance,

described by our author, a few lines
 after, by ανισταται. For, as they did not
 think fit, with the text, to make Ro-
 mulus cast himself upon the ground,
 they could not, possibly, make him
 rise up again.

request ;

request; and, gathering together the Latines, who had not been slain in the late battle, being, now, little more than three thousand, out of a very great number, of which they, at first, consisted, when he led out the colony, he built a city on the Palatine hill. This, therefore, seems to me the most probable account of the death of Remus. However, if any other differs from this, let That, also, be related. Some say that, having yielded the command to Romulus, though not without resentment, and indignation at the imposition, after the wall was built, Remus, in order to shew the flightness of the fortification, said; “Methinks, any of your enemies might, as easily, leap over this, as I do:” And, immediately, jumped over it. That, upon this, Celerius, one of the men, who stood upon the wall, and was surveyor of the works, said; “But any of us might, very easily, chastise that enemy;” and, striking him on the head, with a pick-ax, killed him on the spot. This, therefore, is said to have been the ²⁶⁵ event of the quarrel between the two brothers.

LXXXVIII. There remaining, now, no obstacle to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day, in which, after atonement made to the gods, he designed to begin the work; and, having prepared every thing, that was necessary

²⁶⁵. Το μὲν δὴ τέλος, etc. The first account of the death of Remus seems the most probable. However, ^k Livy has followed the last with some variation: *Vulgatior fama est, ludibrio fratris*

Remum novos transiluisse muros: inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset, sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea) interfectum.

^k B. i. c. 7.

for the sacrifices, and the entertainment of the people; when the day came, he, himself, began the sacrifice; then, ordering all the rest to perform the same according to their abilities, he, first, made use of the augury of eagles: After that, having commanded fires to be made before the tents, he caused the people to come out, and leap over the flames, in order to expiate their crimes. When every thing was performed, which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to a place appointed, and described a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing, with a plough, drawn by a²⁶⁶ bull, and a cow yoked together, one continued furrow, designed to receive the foundation of the wall: From whence, this custom remains, among the Romans, of tracing a furrow with a plough, round the place, where they design to build a city. After he had finished these things, and sacrificed the bull, and the cow, and, also, ²⁶⁷ begun the immolation of many other victims, he set the people to work. This day, the Romans, even at present, celebrate, every year, as one of their greatest festivals, and call it ²⁶⁸Parilia. On that day, which falls out in the beginning of the spring, the husbandmen, and shepherds offer up a

²⁶⁶. Βοὸς ἀρρενὸς αἶμα θηλειᾶς ζευχθέντος ὑπ' ἀροῦρον. This custom is, often, mentioned by the Latin authors; but no where, more particularly, described than by Dionysius upon this occasion. There is a fragment of Cato, which I shall lay before the reader, in order to shew that, by βας ἀρρην is not meant *an ox*, but *a bull*; and, consequently, that the French translators ought to have

rendered it, *un taureau*; and not, *un boeuf*. *Qui urbem novam condit, tauro et vaccā aret: ubi araverit, murum faciat: ubi portam vult esse, aratrum sustollat, et portam vocet.*

²⁶⁷. Καταρξάμενος. See the 124th annotation.

²⁶⁸. Παριλία. See the 225th annotation.

sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But, I cannot, certainly say, whether they chose this day, as, anciently, a day of public rejoicing; and, for that reason, looked upon it as the properest for the building of the city; or, whether the building of it having been begun on that day, they consecrated it, and dedicated it to the worship of those gods, who are propitious to shepherds.

LXXXIX. These, therefore, are all the particulars concerning the origin of the Romans, which I have been able to discover, after great application, and reading many books, written both by Greek and Roman authors upon this subject. So that, from this time, let every one, for ever, renounce the sentiments of those, who make Rome a retreat of Barbarians, fugitives, and vagabonds; and let him, confidently, affirm it to be a Greek city, the most communicative, and humane of all others: Which he will do, when he considers that the Aborigines were Oenotri, and these, Arcadians; and remembers that the Pelasgi, who inhabited the same country with the former, were descended from the Argivi; and, having left Theffaly, came into Italy: And, on the other hand, calls to mind the arrival of Evander, and of the Arcadians, who inhabited the Palatine hill, which place the Aborigines had yielded to them; and, also, the Peloponnesians, who, coming into Italy with Hercules, inhabited the Saturnian hill: And, last of all, Those, who left Troy, and were intermixed with the former: Since, he will find no nation, that is more ancient, or more Greek, than these. For the mixture of Barbarians with the Romans, by which,
they

they lost many of their ancient institutions, happened long after. And this may well seem a wonder to many, who make proper reflections upon things, that they are not become, intirely, Barbarous, by receiving the Opici, the Marfi, the Samnites, the Tyrrhenians, the Brutii, and many thousands of Umbri, Ligures, and Iberi; and, besides these, innumerable other nations, some of whom came from Italy itself, and some from other places, all differing from one another both in their language, and manners; and who, disagreeing in every thing as well as these, and being mixed, and collected into one body, such dissonance may well be supposed to have caused many innovations in their ²⁶⁹ ancient form of government: Since many others, by living among Barbarians, have, in a short time, lost every thing, that characterizes the Greek nation; so that, they, no longer, speak the language of the Greeks; observe their institutions; acknowledge the same gods; use the same humane laws, by which, chiefly, the temper of the Greeks differs from That of the Barbarians; or agree with them in any thing whatsoever, that relates to the private commerce of life. The ²⁷⁰ Achaei, who are settled near the Euxine sea, are a sufficient

²⁶⁹ Τῶ παλαιῶ κόσμῳ τῆς πόλεως. Here *πολις* is, again, taken for *πολιτεία*; concerning which, see the 136th annotation. This sentence, is, certainly, imperfect in all the editions, and manuscripts; because there is a visible tautology in all of them. I have endeavoured to preserve the sense, without falling into that inconvenience.

²⁷⁰ Ἀχαιῶν. ¹ These Achaei were a colony of the Orchomenii, who settled near the Euxine sea, under Ialmenus, after the taking of Troy. Our author, very justly, calls the Orchomenii, from whom the Achaei were descended, *Ελληνικαῖαί τε*; since they were a very ancient Greek people, and so wealthy, that Homer makes Achil-

¹ Strabo, B. ix. p. 637.

proof of what I advance ; who, though all descended from a nation, the most Greek, of all others, are, now, become the most savage of all Barbarians.

XC. However, the language of the Romans is neither, intirely, Barbarous, nor, absolutely, Greek ; but a mixture of both ; the greatest part of which, is ²⁷¹ Aeolic ; and the

les say to Ulysses, that, if Agamemnon would give him as many valuable things, as went to Orchomenus, and the Egyptian Thebes, he would not assist the Greeks,

Οὐδ' ὅς' ἐς Ὀρχομενον πρὸς Ἰνίαν εἶ, καὶ ὅς' Ἀθηναίης Αἰγυπτίας ^m.

²⁷¹. Ης ἐστὶν ἡ πλειων Αἰολίς. Upon this occasion, Hudson quotes a short passage out of ⁿ Quintilian, to shew that many words in the Latin language were derived from the Greek, and declined after the Aeolic manner. This passage both the French translators have rendered in French, which, I imagine, since they said no more, they thought sufficient to point out to their readers the similitude between the Latin language, and the Aeolic dialect. I wish that either they, or Hudson, or any other of the commentators, had thought fit to explain this similitude. If they had, I should have thought myself obliged to them for their assistance, and, most chearfully, have acknowledged it. But, since they have all contented themselves with this quotation, I must perform this task myself, in the best manner I am able. All the grammarians, whom I have read, both ancient and modern, divide the Greek language into four dialects,

the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and Aeolic. But I should chuse rather to make them only two, the Ionic and Aeolic : In which, I am supported by the authority of ^o Strabo, who says that the Ionic dialect was the same with the old Attic, and the Doric, with the Aeolic. Some lines after, he adds a thing, that will, clearly, account for this similitude between the Latin language, and the Aeolic dialect : which is, that the Arcadians spoke Aeolic. Now, we have seen that the Aborigines, and Oenotri were Arcadians, as well as those, who came into Italy with Evander, and lived on the Palatine hill, where Romulus, afterwards, built Rome. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Romans spoke, originally, the same language with the Arcadians, that is, the Aeolic ; and, always, retained a great deal of it. Let us, now, bring this matter to the test, and compare a few words of the Latin language with others of its mother tongue, the Aeolic : *Fama*, Φάμα : *Plaga*, πλάγα ; *Machina*, μάχανα ; *Malum*, μάλον ; *Mater*, μάτηρ ; *Tu*, τυ. The reader will find many more instances of this similitude in Theocritus : But these, I believe, will be sufficient to support this assertion of our author.

^m Iliad i. ῥ. 381.

ⁿ B. i. c. 6.

^o B. viii. p. 513, and 514.

only disadvantage they have received from their intercourse with these various nations, is, that they do not pronounce all their ²⁷² vowels properly: But all other indications of a Greek origin they preserve, beyond any other colony: For it is not lately, since fortune, by showering down her favors on them with a liberal hand, has taught them humanity, that they have begun to practise it; nor since they, first, ²⁷³ aimed at the conquest of countries, situate on the

²⁷² Φθόγῳις. I have departed from all the translators in rendering this word. Three of them have said, in their languages, *words*, and le Jay, *termes*. I am not so very confident of my own translation as to censure theirs; because I know that φωνήεντα is the word, generally, used to signify *vowels*: But I, also, know that, if διφθόγγος signifies *a double vowel*, as it, certainly, does, φθόγγος must signify *a single one*. It is possible, indeed, that the Romans might not pronounce their consonants like the Greeks, which is, what, I suppose, our author calls, *improperly*. But, I imagine, they differed more from them in the pronunciation of their vowels. As the Romans had no η, and, as their *e* was a short vowel, I do not see how they could *properly* pronounce those words, that were derived from the Greek, in which there was an η. Their short *o* is liable to the same objection, when they were to pronounce an ω. As to the letter *u*, there is great reason to believe they pronounced it, as the Italians, now, pronounce it, *oo*, which must have been very different from *u*, as pronounced by the Greeks; if these pronounced it, as I imagine they did, in

the same manner, as we pronounce the *u*, in *tube*, *lute*, etc. Had Dionysius suspected that his history would have outlived the Latin language, as a living language, he would, probably, have told us in what the *impropriety* of the Romans consisted. If he had done this, I dare say, it would have been found, that no nation, now, upon the face of the earth, pronounces Latin like the old Romans, and our own less than any other; unless we are pleased to imagine that one of the most distant provinces of the Roman empire, has retained the true pronunciation of that language, when all the rest of Europe, and, even, the Italians themselves have lost it: And yet, since we pronounce the Latin vowels, differently, from all other nations, we must maintain this extraordinary position, if we are resolved to maintain our own pronunciation.

²⁷³ Ωρεχθησαν της διαπονίης. This is, indeed, sadly, translated by le Jay, *qu'ils eussent passé la mer*. The other French translator has not said much better, *qu'ils se sont rendus maîtres des pays d'au-delà de la mer*. Ωρεγεσθαι means no more than *to aim at*. Ωρεγέλαι. επιθυμει. Hesychius. But there is a
other

other side of the sea ; the object of which was the subversion of the Carthaginian and Macedonian empires ; but, from the time they were assembled in the same city, they have lived like Greeks ; ²⁷⁴ and do not attempt any thing more illustrious in the pursuit of virtue now, than formerly. I have innumerable things to say upon this subject, and many arguments to alledge in support of what I have advanced, together with the testimonies of credible authors ; but I reserve all these for that part of this history, wherein I propose to treat of their government. I shall, now, resume the thread of my narration, after I have premised, in the following book, a recapitulation of what is contained in this.

great difficulty, in the next sentence, which I wonder Casaubon did not take notice of ; it is this : The word *καταλυσαντες* is to me unintelligible, in this place. Are we to suppose that the Romans did not aim at the conquest of the countries, lying on the other side of the sea, till they had subverted the Carthaginian, and Macedonian empires, both which empires lay on the other side of the sea, with respect to the Romans ? This cannot be ; and, yet, this is the sense, and the only sense of the word *καταλυσαντες*. But, if, instead of that, we read *καταλυσαντες*, the difficulty vanishes. As I have no authority for this alteration, but my own conjecture, I would not insert it in the text, but submit it to the determination of the learned reader.

²⁷⁴ Καὶ ὅθεν εκπρεπεσερον ἐπιηδυνοντες πρὸς ἀρετὴν νυν ἢ πρότερον. I, verily, believe him ; and hope this oblique reflection on the lost virtue of the Romans, will reconcile M. * * * to our author, and convince him that he did not write his history with a view to flatter either Augustus, or his people : Since he could not, consistently with decency, say, **more** plainly, that the Romans had degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, than by saying that they did not, at all, distinguish themselves in the pursuit of virtue more in his time, than formerly. But his reflection does not stop here ; it reaches, even, to the throne of Augustus : Since the Romans could not give a greater proof of that degeneracy, than by submitting to his usurpation.

The end of the first book.

A
DISSERTATION
CONCERNING

The arrival of AENEAS in ITALY.

I AM sensible of the many disadvantages I lie under in entering the lists with two of the greatest men of the last age, Cluver, and Bochart, who have both treated the arrival of Aeneas in Italy as a fable, and exhausted the whole store of their learning, which I own to have been very great, in supporting this assertion. However, in this unequal contest, I have the satisfaction to find, that the united stream of the Greek and Roman history runs in my favor; which makes me hope that an affectation of singularity will rather be imputed to them, for having opposed the authority of so many great authors, than to me, for opposing That of the two great men I am to contend with.

Bochart, in his letter to Ségrais, the French translator of the Aeneid, lays great stress upon a passage in Homer, which I shall consider presently, as decisive against the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; and, after he has employed all the arguments he can find to shew the impossibility of it, justifies Virgil for having brought him thither: In order to do this the more effectually, he gives a long list of Greek and Roman authors, most of them quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to prove that Aeneas did, really, land in Italy, and was the ancestor of the Alban kings, from whom the founders of Rome were descended. If Bochart did not do this to shew how much learning he could display on both sides of the question, he must have been very inattentive to his subject, not to see that the authorities he has quoted to justify Virgil, absolutely destroy the arguments he had, before, made use of to

to contradict the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. The method I shall observe in treating this subject, will be, first, to examine the objections made by Cluver, and Bochart, which are, nearly, the same; and then, to give my own reasons in support of the system I have adopted.

Their first objection is drawn from the verses in Homer, which have, already, been taken notice of, and from ^a Strabo's comment on them.

To this objection it may be answered that, if, as I have, before, observed, we read, ^b

Νυν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη ΠΑΝΤΕΣΣΙΝ ἀναξεί,
καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοὶ κεν μελοπιοῦτε γενῶνται,

The difficulty vanishes at once: And, though this reading is not to be found in any of the manuscripts, or editions of Homer, which are, now, extant, yet we know from ^c Strabo that it was, formerly, in some of them, *τινὲς γραφουσιν* are his words. But, if, at all events, we must read *Τρῶεσσιν*, instead of *πανήεσσιν*, the answer our author has given to this objection seems, very well, founded: The sense of which is, that Aeneas, and his posterity, might, as properly, be said to have reigned over the Trojans, who followed him into Italy, as if he, and they, had staid in Phrygia. I am sensible that ^d Strabo says *it was reported*, *λεγέσθαι*, that the descendants of Scamandrius, the son of Hector, and of Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, reigned for many ages in Scepsis, a city in Phrygia: But, this objection he himself obviates, by saying that, if we are to read *Τρῶεσσιν*, there is an end of this succession to the kingdom of Scepsis in the family of Scamandrius. He says, indeed, in the same place, that these verses in Homer contradict, still more, the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; for which reason, some write *πανήεσσιν*, referring the word to the Romans. However, let it not be imagined that Strabo treats the arrival of Aeneas in Italy as a fable; since, in giving an account of that part of Italy, where Aeneas landed, he says, in so many words, that *many places there were ennobled by his presence*, *ἐνδοξά δὲ διὰ τὴν Αἰνείαν γεγονέναι ἐπιδημίαν* ^e.

^a See the 186th annot. on the first book.

^b Iliad v. ῥ. 307.

^c B. xiii. p. 906.

^d Ib.

^e B. v. p. 355.

It is, next, objected by Bochart, that ^f Festus quotes Agathocles Cyzicenus for saying that Aeneas was buried in the city of Berecynthia. The reader will, I believe, think that a quotation of three or four words from an author, whose works are, now, lost, cannot add any great force to his argument; which is, still, lessened by this consideration, that Strabo, in his very accurate description of that country, makes no mention of it.

He, then, says that Ascanius, must have remained in Phrygia, because many places in that country, as the lake Ascanius, a river of the same name, a part of the country, and a little island near adjoining, received their names from Ascanius, the son of Aeneas.

This argument I have met with in several authors of a more modern date than Bochart, from whom, I believe, they took it. However, it may be, easily, answered. In the first place, this lake, and river, are not in Phrygia, but in Bithynia, or, as some have thought, in Mysia, as will appear, evidently, from the following words of Euphorion, quoted by ^g Strabo,

ΜΥΣΟΙΟ παρ' ὕδασιν Ἀσκανιοιο.

This is confirmed by ^h Homer, quoted, also, by Strabo, upon this occasion,

Παλμυν, ΑΣΚΑΝΙΟΝ τε, Μορᾶν θ' υἱὸν Ἰππολίωνος,

ΜΥΣΩΝ ἀγχεμαχῶν ἡγήτορα καὶ ἑροθυμον.

Οἱ γ' ἐξ ΑΣΚΑΝΙΗΣ ἐριζωλακος ἦλθον ἀμοιβοί.

These verses, particularly the first, will supply me with another answer to this objection. This Ascanius was not the son of Aeneas, but one of the leaders of the Mysians, or of the Phrygians, if you please, for Mysia, and Phrygia border on one another, who came to the assistance of the Trojans. And, by the last verse, it is plain that this country, and, consequently, the lake, and river were known by this name in the time of, and very probably, long before, the Trojan war. Ascanius, therefore, the son of Aeneas, could not give his name to these places, after the taking of that city. I said it was probable that the name of Ascania had been given to this country long before the Trojan war; because, if any consequence can be drawn from a similitude of names,

^f In voce *Roma*.

^g B. xii. p. 849.

^h *Iliad*. v. ῥ. 792.

it is not improbable that אשכנזⁱ Aschenez, or, as the Septuagint calls him, Ασχαναζ, the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, might have reigned over this country many ages before the Trojan war, and have given his name to it. And this opinion, I find, Bochart himself espouses, when he is to account for the peopling of the earth by the descendants of Noah: For, there, he derives the name of this country from ^k Aschanaz. But, when he has another object in view, and is to shew that Aeneas never went to Italy, he shifts the scene, and says that this lake, river, and country received their names from Ascanius, the son of Aeneas. I shall not dwell long on the next objection, because I think it may be answered in a few words. Bochart says, that, if Aeneas had come into Italy, he would, certainly, have introduced there the worship of Venus, and Apollo; the first being his mother, and the other his protector, according to Homer; and he says, that both these deities were unknown to the first Romans, and their ancestors.

As to the worship of Venus; ^lStrabo tells us that there was a temple dedicated to her in Lavinium: The antiquity of which will appear by this; that the care of this temple was derived to the Ardeates from their ancestors; επιμελεσθαι δ' αὐτὰ δια προγονων Αρδεαται. And the antiquity of the worship, paid by the old Romans to Apollo, is proved by a passage in ^mFestus, where he says, that he was, formerly, called *aperta* at Rome, *quod patente cortinâ responsa ab eo dabantur*.

I do not, indeed, find that any worship was paid by the Romans to Cybele (which is the next objection) till the year of ⁿRome 550, when this goddess, which, by the way, was nothing but a stone, was brought to Rome from Pessinus, a city in Phrygia, with great ceremony. But it must be observed, that this ridiculous goddess was a local deity, and worshiped at Pessinus, not at Troy.

His next argument, that Minerva, and Vesta, who are acknowledged to have been Trojan deities, were not known to the first Romans, turns, flatly, against him: Because the Palladium, which Aeneas is said, by all historians, to have brought with him into Italy from Troy, plainly, refutes his objection concerning Minerva: And the institution

ⁱ Genesis, c. x. v. 3.

^k Geogr. sacr. B. iii. c. 9.

^l B. v. p. 355.

^m In voce *aperta*.

ⁿ Livy, B. xxix. c. 11.

of the Vestals among the Albans, the ancestors of the Romans, as effectually, destroys the other relating to Vesta. This order of priestesses we find, by ° Livy, was derived from the Albans, *Albâ, oriundum sacerdotium*. And our author will tell us, in the second book, that there was an ancient temple of Vesta at Alba.

I come now to the last objection of Bochart, upon which he seems to lay the greatest stress; though, in my opinion, it least deserves it. It is this: The Latin language, says he, has borrowed many words from the various nations, with whom the Latines had any commerce, but none from the Phrygians. To prove this, he has ransacked all the old Greek lexicons, and scholiasts, to find Phrygian words; of which he has amassed a reasonable number. I look upon it as a very lucky circumstance that both the Phrygian language, and characters are, so absolutely, lost, that no trace of either appears; otherwise, it is plain, from Bochart's manner, that we should have been overwhelmed with an inundation of Phrygian learning. In this mass of Phrygian words, he owns that, though none of them were borrowed by the Latines, many were adopted by the Greeks. This concession, which is supported by the testimony of many authors, is all I desire: For, if the Greeks used any of these Phrygian words, it is certain that the first Romans used them also; since both the language, and the characters of the first Romans were the same with Those of the Greeks. That the language of the first Romans should be Greek will not be wondered at, when it is considered that the inhabitants of Latium were, for the most part, originally, Aborigines, an Arcadian colony; and that the people, who then lived on the spot, where Rome was afterwards built, were, also, Arcadians, who had settled there with Evander. This Dionysius has, already, informed us of, and his account is confirmed by all the Greek and Roman historians. Their language, afterwards indeed, received an alteration by the mixture of many Italian words, that, by degrees, corrupted the Greek language, which the Romans had, originally, used; *επω τοτε τοις Ελληνικοις ονομασι των Ιταλικων επιμεχυμενων*, says ^p Plutarch, in speaking of the language, spoken by the Romans in the time of Romulus. If their language was Greek, the characters of it must, also, have been Greek; and, that they were

° B. i. c. 20.

^p Life of Romulus.

so, appears by a passage in our ¹author, where he says that the terms of the alliance, entered into by Tullius with the Latin cities, were engraved on a brazen pillar in Greek characters, such as were, anciently, used in Greece; which pillar, he says, stood in the temple of Diana, in his time.

Having answered, I hope, all the objections urged against the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, I shall, now, offer some proofs in support of it. If I was to quote the authority of Virgil, the plan of whose Aeneid is formed upon this fact, I suppose it would be said that he is a poet, and, consequently, not tied down to historical truth. But, is not Homer a poet also, and has not his authority been insisted on to prove that Aeneas, and his posterity reigned in Phrygia after the taking of Troy? And why may not Virgil be presumed to have been as well informed of what passed in Italy, his own country, immediately after that event, as Homer, of what passed in Phrygia at that time, a country, to which he had no sort of relation? Let Homer, therefore, and Virgil be laid out of the case, and let the truth of a point of history be, as it ought to be, tried by historians. The reader has, already, seen that Dionysius, and all the Greek and Latin historians he has quoted, affirm this fact, and the authority of Dionysius, as founded on That of those authors, ought to have the greater weight, because he had their works before him, and the modern writers, who deny it, are deprived of that advantage. This being the state of the case, it seems to me little less absurd in the latter to censure Dionysius for having advanced this fact, on the authority of those historians, without having read their writings, than it would be in a judge to condemn a man without hearing the proofs he had to offer in his defence.

If the loss of these historians has deprived me of many proofs in favor of Dionysius, it has, however, saved me the trouble of quoting a long list of Greek and Latin authors, whose reasons we may, and ought to suppose, would have the same effect upon us, as they had upon him, and all other historians, who have written upon this subject; that is, they would convince us of the reality of a fact, which the loss of those authors, and, possibly, the affectation of erecting great edifices with few materials, have, of late years, brought into dispute.

I shall, therefore, content myself with quoting two authors, whom Dionysius might have quoted, and did not; and, after them, some of those, who writ after he published his history.

The first I shall mention is Sallust, whose authority was never, I think, called in question, though his style has been censured by men of more delicacy, than judgement: Nothing can be more explicit than what he says in his Catilinarian war; *urbem Romam (sicut ego accepi) condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aeneâ duce, profugi, incertis sedibus vagabantur.*

The next is Varro, the greatest antiquary of an age, in which Cicero lived. He mentions the arrival of Aeneas at Laurentum in Italy, as attended with a circumstance not heard of before, nor since, I believe, but once. *Ex quo die Trojâ est egressus Aeneas Veneris, cum per diem quotidie stellam vidisset, donec in agrum Laurentem veniret, in quo eam non viderit ulterius; quâ re cognovit terras esse fatales.*

This historical fact was too remarkable to escape the notice of ^t Livy, who relates it in a manner peculiar to himself; *sed ad majora initia rerum ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam [Aeneam] venisse; inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum; ab Sicilia, classe Laurentem agrum tenuisse.* He, then, mentions the marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, king of the Aborigines; the building of Alba by Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, and all the other incidents, which Cluver, and Bochart have thought fit to treat as fabulous.

After this, I would ask, whether any historical fact of an ancient date can be attested by authors of greater authority? And whether an attempt to subvert the credibility of a fact, so attested, by conjectures, forced constructions, scraps of quotations quoted by other authors, and vague assertions, unsupported by the testimony of a single historian, is not an attempt to transform all history into romance, to destroy the use, by destroying the credit, of it, and to deprive mankind of the best guides both in public and private life, examples?

We have seen what the opinion of the Roman historians was concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, and the descent of the Romans from the Trojans. Let us, now, examine what opinion the leading men among the Romans, and the Roman senate itself, entertained of

^t C. 6. ^s Rer. divin. B. ii. ^t B. i. c. i.

these events. In the 564th year of Rome, Lucius Scipio, and Caius Laelius being consuls, the former, who was brother to the first Scipio Africanus, passed the Hellespont with his army in order to carry on the war against Antiochus. In his march, he came to Ilium, the ancient Troy, where the Ilienses, and the Romans congratulated one another; the former saying that Aeneas, and his generals went from thence; and the latter, that they were descended from the Ilienses: And the joy of both was as excessive as That between parents, and their children after a long absence. The Ilienses were delighted to see their descendants, after they had conquered the west, and Africa, come to claim Asia, as their hereditary kingdom; adding, that the destruction of Troy was a desirable event, since it was followed by so happy a resurrection. The Romans, on the other side, could not satisfy their desire of visiting their paternal habitation, the nursery of their ancestors, and the temples, and images of their gods. *"Cum ingressi Asiam Romani Ilion venissent, mutua gratulatio Iliensium ac Romanorum fuit. Iliensibus Aeneam, caeterosque cum eo duces, à se profectos; Romanis se ab his procreatos referentibus. Tantaque laetitia omnium fuit, quanta esse post longum tempus inter parentes et liberos solet. Juvabat Ilienses nepotes suos, occidente et Africâ domitâ, Asiam ut avitum regnum vindicare; optabilem Trojae ruinam fuisse, dicentes, ut tam feliciter renasceretur: Contra, Romanos, avitos lares, et incunabula majorum, templaque ac deorum simulacra inexplebile desiderium videndi tenebat.* After the defeat of Antiochus, the Roman senate sent ten persons, the most considerable of their body, into Asia with particular instructions concerning the terms of the peace, which Antiochus had solicited, and with full powers, *"libera mandata*, with regard to every thing else. After their arrival in Asia, they rewarded, or punished the cities in that country according to their merit towards, or their offences against, the Roman people. And, as none of their acts were, afterwards, rescinded, or, even, altered by the senate of Rome, they must be looked upon as the acts of the senate itself. Among others, who received marks of favor from these embassadors, the Ilienses were distinguished, not so much, as ^x Livy says, on account of any late services they had done to the Romans, as in memory of their origin:

^u Justin. B. xxxi. c. 8.

^v Livy, B. xxxvii. c. 56.

^x B. xxxviii. c. 39.

In consideration of which, they added Rhoeteum, and Gergithum to their territories. For the same reason, they made the inhabitants of Dardanium free; *Ilienſibus Rhoeteum, et Gergithum addiderunt; non tam ob recentia merita, quam originum memoriâ. Eadem et Dardanium liberandi cauſa fuit.* It is remarkable that one of theſe ten embaffadors was Lucius Aemilius Paullus, ^y the worthy ſon of Aemilius Paullus, who loſt his life in the ſervice of his country, at the unfortunate battle of Cannæ. ^z His ſon, twenty two years after this embaffy, being conſul for the ſecond time, overcame Perſeus, and reduced Macedon to a Roman province. ^a He was maſter of all the Latin and Greek learning, and took particular care to inſtruct his ſons in both: He had, alſo, a great taſte for ſculpture, painting, and all the liberal arts. Theſe things are mentioned to let the reader ſee the improbability, that a man of ſuch qualifications could be impoſed upon in ſo eſſential a point of the Roman hiſtory, as That, which deduced the deſcent of the Romans from the Ilienſes. The reader will remember that the Roman ſenate, when they granted theſe favors to this people, were an aſſembly of the wiſeſt, braveſt, and moſt learned men, then, in the known world, unawed by any power, either foreign, or domeſtic, and could be influenced, in this determination, by nothing but the notoriety of the fact, and their piety to their anceſtors. This was not the only decree of the Roman ſenate in favor of the Ilienſes, though we are not acquainted with the particulars of the reſt: But, that there were others of the like tendency, appears by the following words of Calliſtratus: ^b *Ilienſibus et propter inclytam nobilitatem civitatis, et propter conjunctionem originis Romanae, jam antiquitus, et ſenatus-conſultis, et conſtitutionibus principum pleniffima immunitas tributa eſt.*

I lay not the leaſt ſtreſs on the conſtitutions of the Roman emperors; the firſt of whom, Julius Cæſar, had a mind to have it thought that he derived his deſcent from Iſlus, one of the followers of Aeneas, if not his ſon: I ſay, I lay no ſtreſs on the conceſſions made to the Ilienſes in Cæſar's time, becauſe the Roman ſenate were, then, ſo far awed by his illegal power, and had ſo far degenerated from the noble freedom of their anceſtors, as to beſtow the groſſeſt flattery upon every whim, which the wantonneſs of his exaltation could ſuggeſt to him:

^y Paterc. B. i. c. 9.

^z Plutarch's life of Aemilius.

^a Id. ib.

^b In lege. 17.

And;

And, as he had free liberty to derive his descent from any hero of antiquity he pleased, if he had thought fit to derive it from Alexander, or his horse Bucephalus, they would have decreed him to be descended, in a right line, from either of those heroes.

I have, already, lamented the loss of the many Greek and Roman historians, whom Dionysius has quoted to prove the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; and must, now, lament the loss of Sisyphus Cous, Corinnus, Dares Phrygius, Dictys Cretensis, and Syagrus, whom he has not quoted; and of whom the four first lived in the time of the Trojan war, and writ the history of it; and the last treated the same subject in verse many years before Homer. As their writings were, probably, in being at the time Dionysius writ his history, if they had contradicted the authors he quotes, he could not have failed to mention this contradiction; though he was under no necessity of mentioning their conformity.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE city of Rome is situated in the western parts of Italy, close to the river Tiber, which falls into the Tyrrhene sea about the middle of the coast; from which sea, the city is distant one hundred and twenty stadia. The first known possessors of this spot were certain Barbarians, natives of the country, called Siceli, who were, also, masters of many other parts of Italy, and of whom not a few visible monuments remain to this day; among which, are, even, some names of places, said to be Sicelian names, which shew they, formerly, inhabited this country. The Aborigines, descended from the Oenotri, who inhabited the sea coast from Taras to Posidonia, drove out this people, and possessed themselves of the place. These were the holy

ANNOTATIONS on the Second Book.

• Την απο Ταραντος αρχε Ποσειδωνιας παραλιον. See the 235th annotation on the first book.

youth,

youth, consecrated to the gods, according to their custom, and sent out by their parents, as it is said, to inhabit that country, which ² the god should give them. The Oenotri were an Arcadian nation, who left the country, then, called Lycaonia, and, now, Arcadia, of their own accord, in search of a better under the conduct of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, from whom the nation received its name. While the Aborigines were in possession of these parts, the first, who cohabited with them, were the Pelasgi, a wandering people, who came from a country, then, called Haemonia, and, now, Thessaly, where they had lived some time. After the Pelasgi, came the Arcadians from the city of Pallantium, who had chosen for their leader, Evander, the son of Mercury, and of the nymph Themis: These built a village upon one of the seven hills, that stands near the middle of Rome, calling the place Pallantium, from their mother city in Arcadia. Not long after, Hercules, coming into Italy, in his return home, with his army from Erythea, some part of it, which was left behind, consisting of Greeks, settled near Pallantium, upon another of the hills, that, now, make part

² Ὑπο τῶν Δαιμονίων. Sure the Latin translators had forgotten what our author said in the first book, concerning this custom of consecrating the youth to some god, and then sending them out in search of the country that god should give them; otherwise, they would never have rendered this passage, *The country, which fortune should give them*. However, M. *** has followed them; and le Jay has not succeeded much better in saying *sous la protection*

des dieux, generally. Δαιμονιον or Δαιμων is explained by our author himself in the place beforementioned, ὁ θεὸς ὃς καλονομαθεῖν ἀπελαινόμενοι, *the god, to whom they had been consecrated, before they were sent out*. As most of the remarkable things, relating to the original history, of which this is only a recapitulation, have been, already, explained in the first book, the reader will give me leave to refer him to those annotations.

of

of the city of Rome: This was, then, named, by the inhabitants, the Saturnian hill; but is, now, called the Capitoline hill, by the Romans. The greatest part of these were Epei, who abandoned the city of Elis, after their country had been laid waste by Hercules.

II. The sixteenth generation after the Trojan war, the Albans³ built upon both these places, and surrounded them with a wall, and a ditch: For, till then, there were only cottages of neatherds, and shepherds, and huts of other herdsmen; the land thereabouts yielding plenty of grafs, not only, for winter, but, also, for summer pasture, by reason of the rivers, that refresh, and water it. The Albans were a mixed nation, composed of Arcadians, of Pelasgi, of those Epei, who came from Elis, and, last of all, of the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, the son of Anchises, and Venus, came into Italy after the taking of Troy. It is probable that some Barbarians, also, who lived in the neighbourhood, or the remains of the ancient inhabitants, were mixed with those Greeks. But all these nations, having lost their national appellations, were called, by one common name, Latines, from Latinus, who had been king of this country. The city, therefore, was built by these nations, the four hundred and thirty second year after the taking of Troy, and in the seventh Olympiad. The leaders of this colony were twin brothers, and of the royal family; Romulus being

³. Συνοικιστοι. This word is rendered by all the translators, except le Jay, who has left it out, as if our author had said συνοικιστοι, which is not enough:

For the Albans did not only *inhabit* these two hills, but *inclosed* them within the walls of their new city. And this is the sense of the word συνοικιστω.

the name of one, and Remus of the other : By the mother's side they were descended from Aeneas, and, consequently, Dardanidae. It is hard to say, with any certainty, who was their father : However, the Romans believe them to have been the sons of Mars. But a contest arising between them about the command, they did not both continue leaders of the colony : For, one of them being slain in the battle, Romulus, who survived, became the founder of the city, and called it after his own name. The great numbers of which this colony had, originally, consisted, when sent from Alba, being, now, reduced to a few, the remainder amounted to no more than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse.

III. After the ditch, therefore, was finished, the wall perfected, the necessary structure of the houses completed, and the juncture required they should consider, also, what form of government they were to establish, Romulus called the people together by the advice of his grandfather, who had suggested to him what he was to say, and told them that, indeed, “ the city, considering it was, newly, built, was, sufficiently, adorned both with public and private edifices : “ But he desired they would all consider that these were “ not the most valuable things in cities : For, neither, in “ foreign wars, are deep ditches, and high walls sufficient “ to give the inhabitants an ⁴ undisturbed assurance of their

⁴ Απράγμονα σωτηρίας υποληψιν παρὰ-σχεν. The translators have expressed this sentence differently. Sylburgius has said *certain spem afferre*, which I am

afraid, is as little exact with regard to the thought, as to the Greek words. *Un rempart entierement sûr pour metre les Bourgeois à couvert*, in M. ***, is liable

“ own

“ own safety, but only to secure them from being surpris’d
 “ by a sudden incurſion of the enemy ; neither, in civil
 “ commotions, can private houſes afford a ſafe retreat ;
 “ theſe being contriv’d for the comfort of leiſure, and
 “ tranquillity, and neither prevent miſchief in thoſe, who
 “ ſ⁵practiſe it againſt their neighbours, nor give confidence
 “ to thoſe, againſt whom it is practiſed : That no city,
 “ hitherto, ſupported, alone, with theſe decorations, ever
 “ attained to greatneſs, and a laſting happineſs ; nor, from a
 “ want of magnificence, either in public, or private build-
 “ ings, was ever hindered from being great and happy :
 “ But, he told them, there were other things, that pre-
 “ ſerve, and aggrandize cities : In foreign wars, ſtrength in
 “ arms ; which is acquired by courage, and exerciſe ; and,
 “ in civil commotions, unanimity among the citizens. This,
 “ he ſaid, the temperance, and juſtice of each particular
 “ citizen would, moſt effectually, adminiſter to the whole
 “ body : That thoſe, who employ themſelves in the exerciſe
 “ of arms, and, at the ſame time, are maſters of their paſ-
 “ ſions, are the greateſt ornaments to their country ; and

to the laſt of thoſe exceptions. *On ne
 devoit pas compter d’être en ſéûreté*, is
 better in le Jay. It is certain that
ſωτηρίας ὑποληψις ſignifies more than
ſafety ; it ſignifies *ſecurity*.

⁵ Το επιβλεννεν, etc. Stephens, Ca-
 ſaubon, and Portus, after great pains
 to reſtore this ſentence, have left it
 out of joint. The reaſon is, they had
 never ſeen the Vatican manuſcript,
 which, by reading *επιβλεννεν*, inſtead

of *επιβλεννεν*, as it ſtands in all the
 editions, has, in a great meaſure,
 cleared up the ſenſe. But there is one
 word, which that manuſcript has ſuf-
 fered to remain, and which none of
 thoſe learned men have thought of
 altering, that is, *βεβηκεναι*, which can
 have nothing to do here : For which
 reaſon, I would ſubſtitute *βεβιωκεναι* in
 its room.

“ theſe

“ these are the men, who provide both the commonwealth
 “ with impregnable walls, and themselves with a safe retreat.
 “ That the form of government supplies those, who have,
 “ prudently, instituted it, with ⁶ men of bravery, and justice,
 “ and who practise every other virtue; while, on the other
 “ side, bad institutions render men cowardly, and rapacious,
 “ and the slaves of foul desires. He added, that he had
 “ been informed by men of age, and great knowledge in
 “ history, that of many numerous colonies, planted in fruitful
 “ countries, some, by falling into seditions, had been, im-
 “ mediately, destroyed; others, after a short resistance, forced
 “ to become subject to their neighbours, and ⁷ to exchange
 “ both their fruitful country for a barren land, and their
 “ liberty for slavery: While others, less numerous, settled
 “ in places, not altogether fertil, have, in the first place,
 “ continued to be free themselves, and, afterwards, to com-
 “ mand others: And that the misfortunes of the numerous

⁶. Μαχηλας δε, etc. Hudson has given us various Latin translations of this sentence; two of which have been followed by the French translators. But every one of these versions supposes that our author intended to make the men of bravery, and justice serve as models to the legislators: Whereas, I understand his sense to be that the form of government, instituted by these legislators, will inspire the others with bravery, and a love of justice. And this, I think, is confirmed by what he says presently after, that the happiness, or unhappiness, of colonies is owing to nothing so much as to their different forms of government. But the reader will determine which

of these interpretations is best supported by the words of the text.

⁷. Την χειρονα τυχην διαλλαξαοθαι. I have taken a liberty in this place, which I have, very seldom, allowed myself. There is such a falseness in this expression, ανη της κρειττονος χωρας την χειρονα τυχην διαλλαξαοθαι, that I cannot think our author, who was so just a critic, as well as so accurate a writer, could ever suffer this expression to escape from his pen. The small alteration I would make in reading την χειρονα αμα τη τυχη διαλλαξαοθαι, will, I hope, be thought to correct this inaccuracy of expression, without making any alteration in the sense.

“ colonies, and the happiness of those, that were less so,
 “ flowed from no other cause than the form of their re-
 “ spective governments. If, therefore, there was but one
 “ sort of government received by all men, and calculated to
 “ render cities happy, the choice would not be difficult: But
 “ he was told, he said, there were various forms of govern-
 “ ment both among the Greeks, and Barbarians; of all
 “ which, three were, chiefly, commended by those, who
 “ had experienced them: However, that ⁸ none of them
 “ was perfect, each having some inbred evils, that accom-
 “ pany it, which created great difficulty in the choice. He,
 “ therefore, desired them to deliberate at leisure, and let him
 “ know, whether they would be governed by a single person,
 “ or by a few; or, whether they would, ⁹ under proper
 “ laws, commit the administration of the commonwealth to
 “ the whole body of the people: And, which form of go-
 “ vernment soever you shall think fit to establish, says he, I

⁸. Και τῶν ὑδεμιαν εἶναι τῶν πολιτειῶν
 εἰλικρινή, προσεῖναι δὲ τινὰς ἑκάστη κῆρας
 συμφορὰς. I do not so much wonder
 that the other commentators have not
 taken notice of the analogy between
 our author, and ^a Polybius, in treating
 this subject, as that Casaubon, who has
 published a very fine edition of the
 latter, should not remember it: How-
 ever, as I have translated that frag-
 ment of Polybius, it would be inex-
 cusable in me not to lay that passage
 before the reader, that he may see in
 what manner our author has taken the
 sense, without taking the words. Po-

lybius says, Παν εἶδος πολιτείας ἀπλὴν,
 καὶ κατὰ μιαν συνεσηκώς δυνάμιν ἐπισφαλὲς
 γιγνέσθαι. And, again, Τῶν πολιτειῶν
 συγγινέσθαι κατὰ φύσιν ἑκάστη, καὶ παρεπείσαι
 τις κακία. I believe the reader will find
 that, notwithstanding the thought in
 both is the same, our author has much
 the advantage in the expression.

⁹. Εἴτε νομοὺς καλῶς ἡσασμένοι, etc. If the
 reader pleases to compare the text, as
 it stands in the Vatican manuscript,
 with the reading of the editions, he
 will see how much we are beholden to
 that manuscript for the restitution of
 this period.

^a B. vi. p. 458.

“ shall,

“ shall, readily, comply with it, and neither think myself
 “ unworthy to command, nor refuse to obey. I am satisfied
 “ with the honors you have conferred on me, first, by ap-
 “ pointing me leader of the colony, and, afterwards, by
 “ giving my name to the city : For, of these, neither a
 “ foreign war, nor a civil dissension, neither time, that
 “ destroyer of all great things, nor any other stroke of angry
 “ fortune can deprive me : But, these honors, both living,
 “ and dead, I shall enjoy for ever.”

IV. This was the speech, that Romulus, by the direction,
 as I have said, of his grandfather, made to the people : And
 they, having consulted together by themselves, returned this
 answer : “ We do not, at all, desire a new form of govern-
 “ ment, nor to change That, which our ancestors have ap-
 “ proved of as the best, and delivered down to us : In this, we
 “ shew, both a deference for the sense of our elders, whose great
 “ prudence we admire in establishing it, and our own satis-
 “ faction in our present condition : For we could not, with
 “ reason, find fault with an institution, that has afforded
 “ us, under our kings, the greatest of human blessings,
 “ liberty, and the command of others. This, therefore,
 “ is our resolution concerning the form of government :
 “ And this honor, we conceive, none has so good a title to,
 “ as yourself, by reason of your being of the royal family,
 “ as well as of your virtue ; but, above all, because you have
 “ been the leader of our colony, and have convinced us of
 “ your great spirit, and great prudence ; not so much by
 “ your words, as by your actions.” Romulus, hearing this,

said ; “ It was a great satisfaction to him to be judged
 “ worthy of the kingdom : But that he should not accept
 “ that honor until the gods should, by favourable omens,
 “ confirm their choice.”

V. And they, also, approving of this, he appointed a day, in which he designed to consult the gods concerning the command they had offered him : And, when the time was come, he rose by break of day, and went out of his tent : Then, standing abroad, ¹⁰ in a void place, after the customary sacrifice, he prayed to Jupiter, the king, and to the rest of the gods, whom he had chosen for the patrons of this colony, that, if it was their pleasure he should be king of the city, they would reveal it by some heavenly signs : This prayer being ended, a flash of lightning ran from the left to the right. The Romans, upon the information, either of the Tyrrhenians, or of their ancestors, ¹¹ look upon the lightning,

¹⁰. Εν καθαρῷ χωρίῳ. I much doubt whether this signifies *en un lieu pur*, as M. *** has rendered it, after the example of the Latin translators ; because, our author says nothing concerning the consecration of the place. I have chosen rather to render it *a void place*, that is, *a place free from any obstruction* ; in the same manner as ^b Aristophanes says εν καθαρῷ ; and as ^c Livy uses the word *purus*, *Postero die signis collatis dimicaturum puro ac patienti campo*.

¹¹. Τιθενται δὲ Ρωμαῖοι, etc. The reason, given by our author, why the Romans looked upon the lightning, that appeared on the left hand, to be

an auspicious omen, is much more plausible (according to the astronomy then received) than that grammatical reason, given by ^d Plutarch, who says that *sinister* is derived from *sinere*. It must be observed that the Romans looked upon the signs, that appeared on their left, to be favourable ; and that the Greeks looked on Those, that appeared on their right, to be so : The reason of which difference, was, that the former turned their faces to the east in performing these augural ceremonies ; and the latter, to the north. This passage of our author proves the first ; to which I shall add another, out of ^e Livy, relating to the

^b Ελλην. ψ. 320.

^c B. xxiv. c. 14.

^d Rom. Quaef.

^e B. i. c. 18.

that

that passes from the left to the right, as a happy omen: Their reason is, according to my opinion, that the best seat, and station for those, who make augural observations, is That, which looks towards the east; from whence, both the sun, and moon rise, as well as the planets, and fixed stars; and the revolution of the heavens, by which all things contained in them are, sometimes, above the earth, and, sometimes, beneath it, from thence begins its circular motion: Now, to those, who turn their faces to the east, the northern parts of the world are on the left; and the southern, on the right; and the former are looked upon as more honourable than the latter: For, in the northern parts, the pole of the axis, upon which the earth turns, is elevated; and, and of the five circles, which encompass the sphere, That, called the arctic circle, always appears on that side; while, in the southern parts, the other, called the antarctic circle, is depressed, and invisible to us. There is reason, therefore, to look upon those signs in the heavens, and the air, to be the best, which appear on the best side: And since, those parts, that are turned towards the east, have the pre-eminence

inauguration of Numa Pompilius: *Augur ad laevam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regionem ab oriente ad occasum determinavit; dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit.* By this, it appears that his face was turned to the

east. And, that the Greeks turned their faces to the north, upon these occasions, may be proved by many passages out of their most approved writers; but I shall content myself with This of ^f Homer, who makes Hector say thus to Polydamas.

των ἄλλ' ἀμείλιχ' ἔπομ', ὅδ' ἀλεγιζώ,
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἥω τ' ἡέλιον τε,
 εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοιγέ, πρὸς ζοφὸν ἡερόεντα.

^f Iliad μ. ὅ. 238.

over the western parts, and of the eastern parts themselves, the north-east are higher than the south-west, those ought to be esteemed the best. But some write that the ancestors of the Romans long ago, and, before they had learned it from the Tyrrhenians, looked upon the lightning, that came from the left, as a happy omen: For, they say, that, when Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, was warred upon, and besieged by the Tyrrhenians under the command of Mezentius, their king, and upon the point of falling out of the town for the last time, his affairs being, now, desperate, he prayed to Jupiter, and to the rest of the gods, with lamentation, to encourage this fall with some happy omens; and, ¹² the sky being clear, it lightened on the left; and that this battle, being attended with a most happy event, his posterity, ever after, looked upon this sign as fortunate.

VI. After Romulus, therefore, had, upon that occasion, received the sanction of heaven, he called the people together; and, having given them an account of the auspicious omens, he was chosen king by them, and instituted this custom to be observed by all his successors, that none of them should accept the dignity of king, or any other magistracy, until, even the gods had given a sign of their approbation: And this custom, relating to the auspices, continued to be, long, observed by the Romans, not only, under

¹² Αἰθρίας ὕλης ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστράψαι τὸν ὕμνον. This tradition Virgil has adapted to the *coup d'essay* of Ascanius, when he was besieged by the Rutuli, commanded by Turnus, and insulted

by Remulus. Ascanius addresses his prayers to Jupiter, after which, § Virgil says,

*Audiit, et caeli genitor de parte serenâ
Intonuit laevum.*

§ Aen. ix. ῥ. 630.

their kings, but, also, after the dissolution of monarchy, in the elections of their consuls, praetors, and other legal magistrates: But it is disused at this time, the appearance of it being preserved only for form sake: For, those, who are designed magistrates, pass the night in tents, and, rising by break of day, perform their prayers in the open air; then, ¹³ some of the augurs present, who are paid by the public, declare that a flash of lightning from the left, which had not happened, signifies the approbation of the gods; and they, having, by this report, received the omen, depart, in order to enter upon their magistracies. Some looking upon this alone as sufficient, that no contrary, or forbidding omens had appeared; others, even, in opposition to the will of heaven prohibiting their election, and, sometimes, by violence, rather seize, than receive their dignities: By which means, many armies of the Romans have been, utterly, de-

¹³· Τῶν δὲ παρόντων τινες ορνιθοσκοπῶν, etc. This function of the augurs to observe the heavenly signs, was called, by the Romans, *servare de coelo*: The disuse of which is censured, with great spirit, by ^h Lucan,

*Nec coelum servare licet: tonat augure surdo,
Et laetae jurantur aves, bubone sinistro.*

The disuse of this farce was, indeed, of no great consequence: But the violence, used in elections, which our author, presently, complains of, proved fatal to the liberty of Rome; as it must be to That of every country, where it is practised. By this time, I hope, the reader will acquit our author

of any design to flatter Augustus, since no man ever used greater violence than he, in extorting his first consulship from the senate. He was at the head of an army, raised by his country to oppose the ambitious designs of Marc Antony, when he sent some of his officers to the senate to demand, rather than to desire the consulship. This imperious manner of applying to the senate, being received with the indignation it deserved, ⁱ one of these officers laid his hand upon his sword, and had the insolence to say to the senate, “^k If “ You will not give the consulship to “ Caesar, This shall.”

^h B. v. §. 395. ⁱ Sueton. life of Augustus, c. 26.

^k Dion Cassius, B. xlvi. p. 363.

stroyed

stroyed at land; many fleets have been lost, with all their people, at sea; and other great and dreadful calamities have befallen the commonwealth; some in foreign wars, and others in civil dissensions: But the most remarkable and the greatest happened, even, in my time, when Licinius Crassus, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army against the Parthians, contrary to the will of heaven, and in contempt of the innumerable omens, that opposed his expedition. But a great deal might be said concerning the contempt of the gods, that prevails among some people at this time.

VII. Romulus, who was, thus, chosen king by the concurrence both of gods, and men, is allowed to have been a man of great military accomplishments, and personal bravery, and, ¹⁴ extremely, capable of instituting the most perfect sort

¹⁴ Πολίτειαν ἐξηγησασθαι τὴν κρατίστην Θερονιμώλιας. Portus, and the two French translators have given this sense to these words, *Of great prudence in the government of the state*. This I do not take to be the sense of this passage; though I know that ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὴν Πελοποννησον in the first book of Thucydides signifies *to govern Peloponnesus*: But, if we are to give that sense to the word in this place, what becomes of τὴν κρατίστην? I have, therefore, translated it according to the explication Suidas gives of the word; το ἐξηγησασθαι, ἀμα λεγειν τε περι ὧν ἀγνοοσιν οἱ ἀκροῦτες, καὶ διδασκειν αὐτας περι ὧν πυνθανονται. Sylburgius has said *in republicâ optimè instituendâ prudentissimus*;

which, though it does not quite come up to our author's sense, is, vastly, nearer to it, than the other translations. The reader will observe, I dare say, with satisfaction, that our author calls the government, instituted by Romulus, the most perfect sort of government; and this we find to have been a mixed government, composed of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. This is the constitution so much extolled by ¹ Polybius, and other great writers of antiquity, and is, nearly, the same with That instituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, about a hundred years before, which lasted no less than seven hundred, without any considerable alteration.

¹ B. vi. 458.

of government. I shall relate such of his civil, and military actions, as may be thought worthy of history: And shall, first, speak of the form of government he instituted, which I look upon, of all others, to be the most self-sufficient, to answer all the ends both of peace, and war. This was the plan of it: After he had divided all the people into three parts, he appointed a person of the first rank to be the chief of each of them: Then, he subdivided each of these three parts into ten others, and appointed as many of the bravest men to be the leaders of these also: The greater divisions he called *tribes*; and the lesser, *curiae*; as they are called, even, at this day. These names may be, thus, translated into Greek; *a Tribe*, by ¹⁵ Φυλη and Τριτύς; and

¹⁵ Φυλη και τριτύς. There is no doubt but Φυλη signifies *a tribe*. But τριτύς signifies *a third part of a tribe*: Τριτύς εσι το τρίτον μέρος της φυλης. Harpocraton. So that, our author must have taken this word for the third part of the Roman people, which it, certainly, was. I find a note in Hudson, upon this occasion, in which ^m Graevius is quoted to prove that the Aeolians said τριππύς, instead of τριτύς, from whence, the Romans had their word, *tribus*. To confirm this, M. * * *, after mentioning this observation of Graevius, quotes Plutarch to shew that the Aeolians made use of β instead of π. I have this place of Plutarch, now, before me, and find he says just the contrary, viz. that the Aeolians used π instead of β; his words are these, ⁿ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν, αὐτῶ

τε β τῶ π χρωμένοις. I am afraid That gentleman quoted this passage of Plutarch, as well as another, already, taken notice of by me in a former ^o note, from some French translation, and not from the Greek text, which he could not, possibly, have mistaken: Φράξια, which follows, is, beyond all doubt, *the third part of a tribe*. Φράξια εσι το τρίτον μέρος της φυλης. Harpocraton. But this must be understood of the Athenian tribes: For it is certain that a *Curia*, which our author has explained by the word Φράξια, was *the tenth part* of a Roman tribe. This subdivision of the tribes into *Curiae* admits of no doubt. The first division of the people into *tribes* is not, so generally, allowed; because ^p Livy calls them *centurias equitum*: ^q He calls them, again, by that name in relating

^m Rom. ant. Praef. ⁿ Συμποσ. B. vi. p. 694.

^p B. i. c. 13. ^q B. i. c. 36.

^o See the 261^{*} annot. on the first book.

a *Curia*, by Φραξία and Λοχος; the commanders of the Tribes, by Φυλαρχοι and Τριφυλαρχοι, whom the Romans call *Tribuni*; and the commanders of the *curiae*, by Φραξιαρχοι and Λοχαγοι, whom they call *Curiones*; ¹⁶ these *curiae* were, again, divided

the affair of Attius Navius. But, we are not to wonder that Livy contradicts our author, when he contradicts himself: For, in speaking of the law, promoted by the tribunes concerning the creation of four pontiffs, and five augurs, all plebeians, ^r he calls them *tres antiquae tribus, Ramnenses, Titenses, Luceres*.

¹⁶. Διηρηντο δε και εις δεκαδας αι Φραξαι προς αυλα. There is a note in Hudson, in which ^s Graevius is, also, quoted, upon this occasion, for saying that our author *aliquid humani passus est*, and that no historian but himself mentions this division of the *curiae* into *decuriae*; and that Polybius, and Varro, say the *turmae* were divided into *decuriae*. This note M. * * * has translated literally. I will suppose that no other author mentions this division of the *curiae*. Is he not the only author, also, who mentions many other particulars relating to the original constitution of the Romans? And, are any of these disbelieved because he alone relates them? Certainly not. Even Graevius himself mentions many things, that rely, solely, on his authority. I know no author, from whom we could have expected an account of this original division of the Roman people, but Livy, and Plutarch in his life of Romulus. As to the first, we have seen in the preceding note, what a contradictory account he

gives of it. And Plutarch says, only, that Romulus divided all the people, who were of an age to bear arms, into legions; and that each legion consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse. As Graevius has not mentioned the place in Polybius, to which he refers, it must be in the ^t sixth book, where, in speaking of the military constitution of the Romans, he says they divide the horse into ten *turmae*, which he calls *ιλαι*; and, after he has given an account of their method of chusing their officers, he says these officers are called *decuriones*; from whence, I suppose, Graevius concluded that the *turmae* were divided into *decuriae*, which, I dare say, was so. But Polybius speaks, all along, of the military institutions, that were in use in his time; and this can have nothing to do with the original division of the people made by Romulus. The passage Graevius refers to in Varro, though he has not mentioned it, can be no other than this; ^u *Turma, terma est: E in U abiit: Quod terdeni equites ex tribus tribubus Tatiensium, Rhamnensium, et Lucerum fiebant. Itaque primi singularem decuriarum decuriones dicti: qui ab eo singulis turmis sunt etiam nunc terni*. This passage of Varro proves that the *turmae* were divided into *decuriae*; but it does not prove that the *curiae* were not, also, divided into *decuriae*: However, it, plainly, shews that the

^r B. x. c. 6.

^s Praef. to Vol. i. Ant. Rom.

^t P. 471.

^u De ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 16.

by him into ten parts, each having its own leader, called, in the language of their country, *Decurio*. The people being, thus, distributed into tribes, and curiae, he divided the land into thirty equal portions, and gave one of them to each curia, having, first, set apart as much of it, as was sufficient, for the sacrifices, and temples, and, also, reserved some part of the land for the use of the public. This was one division, made by Romulus, both of the men, and the land, which established the greatest equality among them all.

VIII. The other was of the men only, and distributed the good offices, the honors, and dignities, of which I shall, now, give an account: He distinguished those, who were eminent for their birth, and celebrated for their virtue, and whom he knew to be rich in the account of those times, and had children, from the obscure, the mean, and the poor. Those of the lower rank, he called *Plebeians*, whom the Greeks would call *Δημοῖκοι*, *common people*; and those of the higher, *Fathers*; either because they were elder than the others, or because they had children, or from their high birth, or for

Tatienſes, *Rhamneſes*, and *Luceres* were not *centuriae equitum*, as Livy calls them, but tribes. We have ſeen from our author, and Plutarch, that the number of men, originally, conſiſted of 3300: Three hundred of which were horſe. Now, this precise number of three hundred horſe ſeems to have been derived from the diſiſion of the *curiae* into *decuriae*. I ſhall explain myſelf. Romulus divided theſe 3300 into three tribes; conſequently,

each tribe conſiſted of 1100 men; Each of theſe tribes he, again, divided into ten *curiae*; every *curiae*, therefore, conſiſted of 110 men: Theſe, he ſubdivided into ten *decuriae*, conſiſting each of 11 men: Now, as the number of horſe amounted to 300, take one man out of each *decuriae*, and you have the 300 horſemen.

3 tribes, each 1100 = 3300.

30 curiae, each 110 = 3300.

300 decuriae, each 11 = 3300.

H h 2

all

all these reasons ; having, probably, taken the example from the system of government, which, at that time, prevailed at Athens. For the Athenians divided their people into two parts, and called those, who were distinguished by their birth, and fortunes, *Ευπατριδαι*, *well-born* ; to whom the administration of the government was committed ; and the rest of the people, who had no share in it, *Αγροικοι*, *Husbandmen* : But, in process of time, these, also, were admitted to the magistracy. Those, who give the most probable account of the Roman government, say, that, for these reasons, those persons were ¹⁷ called *Fathers*, and their posterity, *Patricians* : But others, considering the thing in the light their own envy places it, in order to calumniate the Romans, as if they were, ignobly, descended, say they were not called Patricians, for the reasons I have alledged, but, because these only could name their fathers ; as if all the rest were fugitives, and unable to shew that their fathers were free men. To prove which, they say that, whenever their kings thought proper to assemble the Patricians, the cryers called them both by their own names, and the names of their fathers ; while officers, appointed for that purpose, summoned the Plebeians all at once to the assemblies, by the sound of oxens horns. But neither is the calling of the Patricians, by the cryers, any argument of their nobility, nor the sound of the horn, any mark of the ignobleness of the Plebeians : The

¹⁷ Κληθῆναι φασὶ τὰς ἀνδράς ἐκείνας πατέρας, καὶ τὰς ἐκ γένος αὐτῶν, πατρικίους. This opinion ^w Livy has, also, im-

braced, *Patres certe ab honore, patri-
cique progenies eorum appellati.*

^w B. i. c. 8,

former being designed for an honor, and the latter for expedition. Since it was not possible, in a short time, to call every one of the plebeians by name.

IX. After Romulus had distinguished those of superior rank from their inferiors, he instituted laws, by which the duty of each was prescribed. He appointed the patricians to be priests, magistrates, and judges, to assist him in the administration, and dedicate themselves to the government of the city. The plebeians were excused from these duties, as unacquainted with them, and, from their small fortunes, wanting leisure to attend them; but directed to apply themselves to agriculture, feeding of cattle, and the exercise of gainful trades; lest they should raise seditions, as it happens in other cities, when either the magistrates abuse their inferiors, or the common people, and poorer sort, envy their superiors. He placed the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians, by allowing every plebeian¹⁸ to choose any patrician he himself thought fit for his patron: In

^{18.} Νεμειν προσάλην. This was the term in use among the Athenians, signifying *to choose a patron*. Αναγκασιον γαρ ην εκασω των μειοικων πολισην τινα Αθηναιων νεμειν προσάλην. Harpocration. In default of which, they were liable to an action, called, Απερσασιον. I am sensible that Dionysius does not compare the Μειοικοι at Athens with the Roman clients, but the Θήτες; and, because we find nothing in the Attic writers to convince us that the Θήτες were, in later times, obliged to have

patrons, as well as the Μειοικοι, we ought not, from thence, to conclude, with some learned men, that they were not, originally, under that obligation; which is all that our author says. This I know, that, if there had been no such custom at Athens, * Terence would have been guilty of a great incongruity in making Chaerea say in the Eunuch, the scene of which is laid at Athens,

Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam et fidem; Nobis dedit se.

* Act. v. Scene 9.

this,

this, he improved an ancient Greek custom, long in use among the Theffali, and, originally, among the Athenians. For the former treated their clients with haughtiness, imposing on them offices unbecoming the condition of freemen; and, if, at any time, they disobeyed their commands, they beat them, and abused them, in all other respects, as if they had been slaves they had purchased. The Athenians called their clients, Θῆτες, *servants*, from their *servitude*: And the Theffali called theirs, Πενεςαι, *poor men*, plainly, reproaching them, by this name, with their condition. But Romulus recommended the thing by a handsome appellation, calling this pre-eminence over the poor, and meaner sort, *a Patronage*: And, by proposing good offices to each of them, he rendered their connexion full of humanity, and such as became fellow-citizens.

X. The laws, then, instituted by him concerning patronage, have, long, continued in use among the Romans, and are as follows: The duty of the patrons was to explain to their clients those laws they were ignorant of; to take the same care of them, when absent, as present; doing every thing for them, that parents do for their children, with regard both to money, and the contracts, that relate to it; to sue for their clients,¹⁹ when injured, and defend

¹⁹ Εἰ τις βλαπτοῖτο περὶ τὰ συμβολαία. I am convinced that this sentence was inserted by some transcriber to explain ἀδικημένων in the former. It is a plain tautology; and I wonder none of the commentators observed it. I have confined ἐγκαλεσθῆναι to a legal sense, in

which it is often used, and not said, generally, *their* accusers, as all the other translators have rendered it. And, in this sense, I think, it answers better to δίκας λαγχανειν, that precedes it.

them,

them, when sued; and, to sum up many things in few words, to procure them, both in private, and in public affairs, all that tranquillity they, chiefly, stood in need of. The duty of the clients was to assist their patrons in providing fortunes for their daughters, if the fathers wanted money; to pay their ransom to the enemy, if any either of them, or of their children, were taken prisoners; to bear their patrons losses in private suits, and discharge, out of their own purses, the fines, payable to the public by those, who were condemned, which the clients were to look upon as a benevolence, not a loan; to assist their patrons in supporting the charge of their magistracies, and dignities, and all other public expences, in the same manner as if they were their relations. It was impious and illegal both for patrons, and clients to accuse each other in courts of justice, to bear witness, or give their votes against each other, ²⁰ or to be found among each others enemies: And, whoever was convicted of any of these crimes, he was guilty of ²¹ treachery by virtue of a

²⁰. Μετα των εχθρων εξελαζεσθαι. I have passed by in silence many odd translations of le Jay; but his version of this sentence is too extraordinary to be omitted; this it is, *de rien faire qui fist soupçonner des inimitiez entre eux*. The other French translator has said very well, *se ranger du parti des ennemis*: I wish he had supported his translation in any other manner than by translating, literally, the note in Hudson without any acknowledgment.

²¹. Προδοσιας. Both the French translators have rendered this, *Trabison*, I think, very properly; because

that word, in their language, signifies *treachery*, not *treason*, which they express by *lèze majesté*. Had Livy thought fit to mention this fine institution, in his account of the actions of Romulus, we should, certainly, have known whether *proditio*, which is the word made use of by the Latin translators, was the name given by the Romans to this crime. So far is certain, that *proditio* was the name they gave to a private correspondence with an enemy. This crime the citizens of Nola had been guilty of; for which reason, Marcellus caused many of them
law

law instituted by Romulus, and might be, lawfully, put to death by any man, as a victim devoted to the infernal Jupiter: For it was the custom among the Romans, to devote those persons they had a mind should be put to death with impunity to some divinity, and, particularly, to the infernal gods: Which Romulus put in practice upon those occasions. By this means, the connexion between the patrons, and their clients continued for many generations, differing in nothing from the ties of blood, and descended to their childrens children: And it was a matter of great praise to men of illustrious families to have numerous clients, and, not only to preserve the succession of hereditary patronages, but also, by their own virtue, to add the acquisition of others. It is incredible how great a contest there was between the patrons, and clients, each striving to surpass the other in benevolence, and not to be outdone in good offices; the clients being, ever, ready to render all possible service to their patrons; and the patrons avoiding, by all means, to give their clients any trouble; and admitting of no pecuniary presents. So much was their behaviour superior to all pleasure; and virtue, not fortune, was the measure of their happiness.

to be put to death; ¹ *supra septuaginta damnatos Proditionis securi percussit.*

² Virgil has, also, ranked the delinquents, mentioned by Dionysius, among the greatest criminals;

et fraus innexa clienti.

Upon this occasion, Servius says, *ex lege duodecim tabularum venit; in quibus scriptum est, Patronus, si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto.* But it is well known, that the decemvirs enacted many things confirmatory of old laws, as well as introductory of new ones.

¹ B. xxiii. c. 17.

² Aen. B. vi. v. 609.

XI. It was, not only, in the city itself that the plebeians were under the patronage of the patricians, but every Roman colony, and every city in alliance, and friendship with them, and, also, ²² every conquered town chose such protectors, and patrons among the Romans as they thought fit. And the senate has, often, referred matters in dispute, in these cities, and provinces, to their patrons, and confirmed their determination. And, indeed, so firmly was this harmony, which owed its birth to these institutions of Romulus, established among the Romans, that, though, as it often happens, in all cities, both great and small, many great political contests have arisen between the people, and their magistrates, they never, ²³ within the course of six hundred and twenty years, proceeded to bloodshed, and mutual

^{22.} ^a Καὶ τῶν ἐκ πολέμου κεκράλημενων ἑκάστη. In proportion as the Romans extended their conquests, these *clientelae* became more extensive. Thus, the *Bonomienses* were clients of the *Antonii*; the *Lacedaemonians* of the *Claudii*; the *Syracusians* of the *Marcelli*; and the *Puteolani* of *Cassius*, and *Brutus*.

^{23.} Ἐνός ἐξακοσίων καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἐτῶν. Our author, most certainly, knew that Tiberius Gracchus was tribune of the people, and slain during his tribuneship in the year of Rome 621 in the consulship of P. Minucius Scaevola, and L. Calpurnius Piso; and that his brother, Caius Gracchus, was killed ten years after: So that, he could neither say that no civil blood was drawn in any political contest at Rome, till the year 630; nor date the beginning of these barbarities from the tri-

buneship of Caius Gracchus. We must, therefore, read *εἰκοσι*, instead of *τριακοντα*, and Tiberius, instead of Caius Gracchus. M. *** seems to triumph in having discovered that this custom of the Romans, in making an amicable end of their contests, did not last above 620 years. I wish he would let us know what nation, what government ever subsisted half that time, without being engaged in civil wars, and mutual slaughter. This is not the place to enter into the merits of the Agrarian law: I shall reserve That till we come to the affair of Spurius Cassius, who, first, proposed it; or, rather, first attempted to restore the observance of a law, as old as their constitution, but, long since, silenced by power.

^a Suet. in Aug. c. 17. id. in Tib. c. 6. Liv. B. xxv. c. 29. Cic. Phil. ii. c. 41:

slaughter; but, by persuading, and informing one another; by submitting in some things, and receiving a voluntary submission in others, they put an end to their disputes in such a manner, as became fellow citizens. But, from the time that Tiberius Gracchus, while triune of the people, dissolved the harmony of the government, they have been, perpetually, destroying, and banishing one another, and refraining from no excess to gain the superiority. But the relation of these events shall be reserved to a more proper place.

XII. As soon as Romulus had regulated these things, he determined to form a senate in order to assist him in the administration of the government. With this view, he chose a hundred persons out of the patricians, according to the following designation: He himself chose one out of their whole body, whom he judged to be the most worthy of that distinction, and whom he thought fit ²⁴ to intrust with the government of the city, whenever he himself should be obliged to lead the army out of the Roman territories: He, then, ordered each of the tribes to chuse three persons, who were of an age the best qualified for prudence, and, also, distinguished by their birth. After these nine were chosen, he ordered each curia, likewise, to

²⁴ Τας κατὰ πόλιν οικονομίας. This magistrate was called, by the Romans, *Praefectus urbis*; and ^b Tacitus says that Denter Romulius was the person invested with this dignity by Romulus: That Numa Marcius was appointed

Praefectus urbis by Tullus Hostilius; and Spurius Lucretius by Tarquinius Superbus: Maecenas, every body knows, enjoyed this post under Augustus.

^b Ann. B. vi. c. 11.

chuse three patricians, the most deserving of that trust : Then, adding to the first nine, who had been elected by the tribes, the ninety, who were, then, chosen by the curiae, and appointing the person, he himself had, first, chosen, ²⁵ to be their president, he completed the number of a hundred senators. The name of this council may be expressed, in Greek, by Γερουσία, *a Senate*, and is called so by

²⁵ ἡγεμόνα. This person was prince of the senate ; and, pursuant to this institution of Romulus, was the first senator ; his name being first called over by the censors after their creation. We find he was, upon this occasion, chosen by Romulus himself ; ^c afterwards, the two censors drew lots for this choice, and he, to whose lot it fell, generally, chose the oldest censorian ; though, if he thought fit, he might name any other senator. He was, never, removed from this dignity, unless he was expelled the senate. ^dHe delivered his opinion the first of all the consular senators : For, I believe, the prince of the senate was, always, a consular senator ; and, by the first passage of Livy, referred to in this note, it appears that Q. Fabius Maximus was, actually, consul, when he was chosen prince of the senate. I observe that Cicero, generally, calls the prince of the senate *princeps senatûs* ; and Livy, *princeps in senatu*. By a note of Dr. Chapman, in his very learned essay on the Roman senate, I find, that he interprets with Zamoscius, τὸν ἀρίστον ἀπεδείξε in our author, *he appointed one to be prince of the senate* : I grant, in-

deed, that Romulus appointed the same person to be prince of the senate, whom he had, before, named for a senator, and to whom he proposed to commit the government of the city, when he himself should be in the field : But I deny that, when he chose him a senator, he made him prince of the senate : For we find that, before this appointment, he chose this person senator, and ordered the three tribes to chuse nine senators, and the thirty curiae ninety : Then, ἐπεὶ αὖ, having added the ninety, chosen by the curiae, to the nine, chosen by the tribes, and appointed the senator *he himself had chosen* to be prince of the senate, he completed the number of three hundred. By this, it appears, I think, very plainly, that this appointment was subsequent to all these elections : And, to suppose our author meant the same thing when he said τὸν ἀρίστον ἀπεδείξεν, as when he said ἡγεμόνα ποιήσας, is to suppose him guilty of a repetition ; and, what is worse, to make the appointment of the prince of the senate both to precede, and follow the election of the rest of the senators.

^c Liv. B. xxvii. c. 11.

^d Varro in Gell. B. xiv. c. 7.

the Romans to this day : But, whether from the advanced age of the persons, who were admitted into it, or from their virtue, it obtained this appellation, I cannot, certainly, say : For the ancients used to call persons of great age, and great merit, Γεροντες, *Old-men* : Those, who composed the senate, were called ²⁶ *Conscript-fathers* ; and, to this day, they retain that name. This, also, was a Greek custom : For it is certain that kings, as well such, as inherited the kingdoms of their ancestors, as those elected by the people, had a council composed of the most virtuous men, as Homer, and ²⁷ the most ancient of the poets testify ; nei-

^{26.} Πατρες ἐγγραφοί. *Patres conscripti*. And, thus, the senate was, certainly, called in his time, as appears by the testimony of all authors. Livy says they were called so, originally, upon this occasion : Tarquinius Superbus had, under various pretences, put many of the senators to death. After his expulsion, Brutus chose, or, rather, recommended to the people to chuse, the most considerable of the knights to supply their places ; from whence, they were called *Conscripti* : ^e *Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui Patres, quique Conscripti essent: Conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos*. Festus says pretty much the same thing ; and adds, that the number of these new senators amounted to 164. But he mistakes in saying that P. Valerius did this, when Livy, expressly, says it was Brutus, his colleague. Dionysius lays great stress upon the advanced age of the

senators ; and ^f Sallust, on the same occasion, makes a noble observation ; *Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientiâ validum, reipublicas consultabant*.

^{27.} Καὶ οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν ποιητῶν μνησθῆναι. This is, also, confirmed by the historians. ^g Thucydides says, that the ancient governments in Greece were hereditary, limited, monarchies ; *πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥήτοισι γέραςι παλαιαὶ βασιλειαί* ; and such was the government instituted by Romulus, not unlike That of Sparta, which lasted seven hundred years, as has been, already, said : The cause of which duration, ^h Aristotle ascribes to the limitations of the kingly government : Upon which occasion, he says, that Theopompus, a prince of great moderation, which he shewed by instituting the ephori, being asked by his wife, whether he was not ashamed to leave the kingdom more limited to his sons,

^e B. ii. c. 1.^f Bell. Cat. c. 6.^g B. i. c. 13.^h Περὶ πολιτ. B. v. c. 11.

ther was the power of the ancient kings arbitrary, and without controule, as it is at this day.

XIII. After Romulus had instituted the senate, consisting of a hundred elders, he concluded, very reasonably, that he should, also, stand in need of a body of young men, both for the guard of his person, and for sudden services, and formed a corps of three hundred men, the most robust, and of the most illustrious families, whom the curiae chose in the same manner they had chosen the senators, each curia electing ten; and these he had always about his person: They were all called by one common name, ²⁸ *Celeres*, according to

than he had received it from his father, answered, that he was not at all ashamed of it, because he should leave it much more lasting; παραδιδωμι γαρ πολυχρονιωτεραν; and the event justified his prediction.

²⁸. Κελερες. ⁱ Plutarch gives the same reason, and, almost, in the same words, for this appellation; απο της περι τας υπεργιας εξυλητος; which he, visibly, took from our author among many other things. Festus thinks this body of horse received their name from *Celer*, who killed Remus, and was their first commander. The commander of these *celer*es was called *Tribunus Celerum*: This post was enjoyed by Brutus, when Tarquinius was expelled, and gave him a right to assemble the people; as we shall see, when we come to that part of the history. All these circumstances, I think, deserved the attention of the commentators; particularly, the following one, which

is attended with a difficulty, that I can easier state, than explain. Livy, as I have said in a former note, calls the Ramnenses, Titenses, and Luceres, centuries of horse, in two places, and tribes in another: These centuries, ^k he says, Romulus created, just after the peace with the Sabines; and, afterwards, he says of Romulus, that he instituted these 300 *celer*es; ^l *trecen-tosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum, sed etiam in pace habuit*. Are these 300 *celer*es the same with the three centuries of horse he first mentioned? Certainly not. The first, therefore, were tribes, and so they are called by Varro; ^m *ager Romanus primum divisus in partes tres, a quo tribus appellatae, Tatiensium, Ramnensium, Lucerum*. This will, sufficiently, shew the error, into which almost all the men of learning have fallen in treating this subject: They derive the equestrian order from

ⁱ Life of Romulus.

^k B. i. c. 13.

^l Ib. c. 15.

^m De Ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 9.

most writers, from the *Celerity* of their service: For those, who are ready, and quick in performing any thing, the

the institution of these tribes. As little do I think those in the right, who derive this order from the *celeres*, who were foot, as well as horse; since our author says that, according to the ground, they fought either on horseback, or on foot: For I think it plain that, though Romulus made use of horse in his armies, the institution of the equestrian order, as distinguished from the senate, and people, was owing to Servius Tullius, who, as our author will inform us at large, divided the whole body of the people into six classes; into the first of which he threw all, whose fortunes amounted to no less than a hundred minae, about 322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* sterling; of these he formed eighty centuries of foot. He, then, chose eighteen centuries of horse, and added them to the eighty centuries of foot; so that, the first class consisted of eighty centuries of foot, and of eighteen centuries of horse. But, even here, the equestrian census is not, plainly, distinguished from That of the foot: For, in speaking of the former, he says they consisted of those, who had the greatest property, not less than a hundred minae, ἡς το μέγιστον τιμήμα ην της 80σιας, εκ ελαττον εκαλον μνων; and, when he speaks of the horse, he says, they had the greatest fortunes, and were of illustrious families, ° εκ των εχουτων το μέγιστον τιμήμα, και καλα γενοσ επιφανων. Here, therefore, we do not find that the equestrian census was different from That of the foot, who composed the eighty centuries, which

consisted both of patricians, and plebeians. The only difference, that appears here between the horse, and the foot of the first class, is, that the former were of illustrious birth. And ^p Livy, speaking of the same thing, says they were *ex primoribus civitatis*: He says; also, that they were called to give their votes, before the eighty centuries of foot; ^q *Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primae classis centuriae*. This being so, when shall we say the equestrian census was instituted, I mean such a census, as to intitle the possessor of it to be, *ipso facto*, a knight? The first mention I find, any where, of the equestrian census is in Livy; where, after he has given an account of the check, which the Roman army received before Veii, and of the consternation the news of it occasioned at Rome, he says, ^r *quum repente, quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant assignati, consilio prius inter sese habito, senatum adeunt; factaque dicendi potestate; equis se suis stipendia facturos promittunt*. This was the in year of Rome 351, when eight consular tribunes were created, as Livy says, though the *fasti consulares* mention but six for that year. Now, it must be remembered, that the censorship had been created forty years before, in the consulship of T. Quinctius Capitolinus, for the fifth time, and of M. Geganius Macerinus, for the second time. And ^s Livy tells us, in the same place, that, in process of time, the senate, and the

^a B. iv. c. 16. ° Ib. c. 18. ^r B. i. c. 43.

^q Id. ib.

^r B. v. c. 7.

^s Id. B. iv. c. 8.

Romans call *Celeres*: But Valerius Antias says they had this name from their commander: For the most considerable man, also among them, was their captain, who had three centurions under him, and these, again, had others under them, who had inferior commands. These *celerēs*, constantly, ²⁹ attended Romulus in the city, armed with pikes,

centuries of knights became subject to the jurisdiction of this magistracy, *senatūs, equitumque centuriae, decoris, dedecorisque discrimen sub ditione ejus magistratūs*. From all these circumstances, I think it probable, that the censors, when they reviewed the centuries of horse at every lustrum, had power to grant *a public horse* to every person possessed of the qualifications instituted by Tullius, that is, the census, before mentioned, and who were of illustrious birth. These were the only cavalry the Romans, anciently, made use of. Afterwards, indeed, their horse was raised not, only, in Italy, but in the provinces; and the divisions of it were, then, called *Alae*, not *Turmae*; which last term was peculiar to the divisions of the Roman horse. Of this distinction many instances may be found in Caesar. It is not certain, therefore, when the knights began to be distinguished from the plebeians by the possession of four hundred thousand sesterium, or 3229 *l. 3 s. 4 d.* sterling, and by the golden ring. I know it is thought that both these were instituted by Tiberius in the ninth year of his reign: To support which, the authority of Pliny is alledged, who says, '*Tiberii demum principatūs anno nono in unita-*

tem venit equester ordo; annulorumque auctoritati forma constituta est.—*Hac de causā constitutum ne cui jus id esset, nisi cui ingenuo ipsi, patri, avoque materno sestertium cccc census fuisset, et lege Julia theatri in xiv ordinibus sedendi.* But this law of Tiberius can only be understood to make it necessary that the father, and grandfather should have those qualifications, as well as the person who claimed the benefit of it: For, by the passage, already quoted from Livy, it is plain there was a *census equestris* established, even, before the siege of Veii: And, as to the gold ring, it appears by another passage of Livy, that it was worn by the knights at the time of, and probably before, the second Punic war. We find, by him, that Annibal, after the battle of Cannae, sent his brother Mago to Carthage, to carry the news of his victory; who, in order to convince the Carthaginian senate of the number of Romans slain in that battle, produced three bushels of gold rings; and told them that these were worn only by the knights, *neminem, nisi equitem, atque eorum ipsorum primores, id gerere insigne* ^u.

²⁹ Αὐτῶ ηκολοῦθον. *Suivoient leur capitaine*, says M. * * *; when it is past all dispute, that this must be un-

^t B. xxxiii. c. 2.

^u B. xxiii. c. 12.

and executed his orders: and, in a day of battle, they charged before him, and defended his person. These, generally, had the advantage in every action, engaging first, and retreating last: They fought on horse-back, where the ground was proper for it; and on foot, where it was rough, and inconvenient for the horse. This custom Romulus seems to have borrowed from the Lacedaemonians; being informed that, among them also, three hundred of the bravest youth attended the kings, as their guards, and defenders in war, and fought both on horse-back, and on foot.

XIV. Having made these regulations, he distinguished the honors, and prerogatives, which he thought proper that each of the orders should enjoy. The particular functions of the king were these: In the first place, the supremacy in religious ceremonies, and sacrifices, and the performance of every thing relating to divine worship: secondly, the guardianship of the laws, and customs of the country, and the administration of justice, in all cases, whether founded on the law of nature, or the civil law: He was, also, to take cognizance, in person, of the greatest crimes, leaving the lesser to the senate; and to observe that no er-

derstood of Romulus, not of their captain, as le Jay has translated it. Again, when the former comes to *παρασπίζει*, he says *avec leurs boucliers ils mettoient les autres soldats à couvert*; whereas the sense is, *ils mettoient Romulus à couvert*; unless it can be supposed that three hundred men can cover a whole army with their bucklers: And, here also, le Jay has the advantage over

his countryman, by applying this word to the defence of Romulus; but, then, he has left out *των κελευομενων υπηρεσαι*, and *προμαχοι*. The example our author, presently, makes use of, I mean, the guards of the Lacedaemonian kings, leaves no room to doubt that these celeres were the guards of Romulus, and not of their fellow-soldiers.

rors were committed in their judgements : He was to assemble both the senate, and the people ; to deliver his opinion first, and pursue the resolutions of the majority. These functions he assigned to the king, and, with these, the absolute command in war. The honor, and power he attributed to the senate were these ; to deliberate, and give their votes concerning every thing the king proposed to them ; and all questions to be determined by the majority. This, also, Romulus took from the constitution of the Lacedaemonians : ³⁰ For neither were their kings arbitrary, but the whole power of the government was vested in the senate. To the people he granted these three privileges ; to chuse magistrates ; to enact laws ; and to determine concerning war, when proposed by the king : But, even, in these points, their power was not without controul, the concurrence of the senate being necessary to give a sanction to their determinations. The people did not give their votes promiscuously, but were called in their curiae ;

³⁰ Ουδε γαρ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεις, etc. The constitution of the Lacedaemonians has been, deservedly, praised by the great authors of antiquity ; particularly, by Polybius, and Xenophon ; which shews that, notwithstanding the rants of the Roman writers, liberty may be enjoyed in its utmost extent under a kingly government, properly, limited ; I wish I might say that licentiousness could not. The Lacedaemonians, it seems, had a custom of renewing their oaths of allegiance to their kings every month, and their

kings of renewing their oaths to the Ephori, as the representatives of the people. The oath of the king was to govern according to law ; and That of the Ephori to preserve his power unshaken, as long as he preserved his oath inviolate : * Ο δε ὅρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεὶ, κατὰ τὰς τῆς πόλεως κείμενας νόμους βασιλευσεν· τῇ δὲ πόλει, ἐμπεδορκήσας ἐκεῖνος, ἀσυμφελίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παρῆξεν. The intention of these oaths was, only, to explain what must, necessarily, be understood in all limited monarchies.

^v B. vi. p. 459.

* Xenophon Περὶ πολ. Λακεδ. p. 690. Edit. Leunclav.

and, whatever was resolved upon by the majority of the curiae, was carried up to the senate: But this custom is, now, inverted: For the senate does not deliberate upon the resolutions of the people, but the people have full power over Those of the senate. I shall leave it to others to examine which of these customs is the best. By this distribution, not only the civil affairs were administered with prudence, and regularity, but, also, Those relating to war were carried on with dispatch, and obedience: For, whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army, there was, then, no necessity for the tribunes to be chosen for the tribes, or the centurions, for the ³¹centuries, or the commanders of the horse; neither was it necessary to take an account of their numbers, to divide them into centuries, or for every man to take his post: But the king gave his orders to the tribunes, they to the centurions, and these to the decurions, each of whom drew out those, who were under their command: And, whether the whole army, or part of it were called, they, at one command, presented themselves ready with their arms at the place appointed.

XV. By these institutions, Romulus, sufficiently, regulated, and, properly, disposed the city both for peace, and war: He rendered it considerable, and populous by these: In the first place, he obliged the inhabitants to bring up all their male children, and the first born of the female; and forbid them to destroy any under three years of age, unless

³¹ Καὶ αὖ λοχῶς. I was wondering how the French translators came to mistake the sense of this word, and to

render it *par curies*, when I cast my eye upon the translation of Sylburgius, and found he had said *per curias*.

they

they were lame, or monstrous from their birth: These he allowed their parents to expose, provided they, first, shewed them to five of their neighbours, and these, also, approved of it: And, besides other penalties, he punished those, who disobeyed this law, with the confiscation of half their fortunes. After this, finding that many cities in Italy were very ill governed, both by tyrannies, and oligarchies, he proposed to give entertainment to, and attract, the fugitives of these cities, who were very numerous, ³² without distinguishing either their calamities, or their fortunes, provided, only, they were freemen: This he did with a view both of increasing the power of the Romans, and of lessening That of their neighbours; though he covered his design with a specious pretence, ascribing it to the honor of the gods: For the place between the capitol and the citadel (which, in the Roman language, is, now, called *Inter duos lucos* ³³, *The space between the two groves*; and was, then, called so from its situation, the valley being shaded by thick woods on both sides, where it joins to the hills) he consecrated, and made it an ³⁴ asylum for all supplicants; and, building

³² Διακρινων ελε συμφορας, ελε τυχας. There is great reason to gather from these words, that, if some of these fugitives fled from persecution, others fled from justice.

³³ Μεθοριον δυοιν δρυμων. This will be best explained by the words of Livy, upon the same occasion, *Locum, qui nunc septus descenditibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit*. The reason why ³ Livy says that place was *septus*,

in his time, is given by ² Dion Cassius, in whom we find that this asylum of Romulus was only nominal, since it was inclosed in such a manner as not to be entered; ετω γαρ περιεφραχθη, ωσε μηδενω ει το παρ' αυτου εσελθειν ες αυτο δυναθηναι.

³⁴ Ασυλον. This institution, also, Romulus, in all probability, took from the Athenians, in whose city, the descendants of Hercules instituted the

¹ B. i. c. 8.

² B. xlvii. p. 385.

a temple there (but to what god, or genius he dedicated it, I cannot certainly say) under the color of religion he engaged to protect those, who fled to it, from their enemies; and, if they chose to remain with him, he communicated to them the rights of Roman citizens, and promised them a share of the lands he should take from the enemy. This encouragement drew thither, from all parts, a confluence of people, who fled from their private calamities: Neither had they, afterwards, any thoughts of removing to any other place, being detained there by daily instances of his affability, and favor.

XVI. Besides these institutions, Romulus introduced a third, which the Greeks, of all others, ought to have practised, it being, in my opinion, the best of all institutions, as it has laid the most solid foundation for the liberty of the Romans, and not a little contributed to raise them to the empire they have acquired. It was this: Not to put to death, or make slaves of, the men taken in the conquered cities, or ³⁵ lay waste their territories: But to send inhabitants thither to possess some part of the country by

first asylum, which was a temple dedicated to Mercy. The abuses of these asylums, which were very common in the Greek cities, were much complained of in the senate, in the reign of Tiberius; who, as ^a Tacitus says, *reformed* them, *modus praescribatur*: For which reason, among many others, I believe ^b Suetonius is mistaken, when he says that Tiberius *abolevit et jus,*

moremque asylorum, quae usquam erant. However, that may be, the church of Rome has retained this Pagan institution with all its abuses, which, now, are, and, for many ages, have been, carried to a greater height than they ever, were by those, from whom they derived it.

³⁵ Μηλοβοτος χωρα, υπο πολεμιων εξεξημωθησα. Suidas.

^a Annal. B. iii. c. 63.

^b Life of Tiberius, c. 37.

lot, and to make these conquered cities Roman colonies ; and, even, to communicate to some of them the privileges of Roman citizens. By these, and the like institutions, he aggrandized this colony (as the event shewed) which, in its infancy, was very inconsiderable : For, the number of those, who, with him, were the first founders of Rome, did not amount to more than three thousand foot, nor quite to three hundred horse : Whereas, he left behind him, when he disappeared, forty six thousand foot, and near a thousand horse. Romulus having been the author of these institutions, the kings of Rome, who succeeded him, and, after them, the annual magistrates, pursued the same measures, with such additions, as rendered the Roman people, not at all, inferior in number to those nations, that are accounted the most populous.

XVII. ³⁶ When I compare the customs of the Greeks with these, I can find no reason to extol either Those of the

³⁶. Τα δε Ελληνων εθη παρα ταυτα εξειλαζων, etc. Our author has great reason, when he compares the institutions of the Greeks with Those of the Romans, to give the preference to the latter. The Romans knew that neither power, nor riches could be acquired, or preserved, but by numbers of people ; and, for that reason, communicated the rights of their city to all men, even to those, who had been their enemies. There is something so noble, so humane, as well as politic in this proceeding, that the reservedness, and jealousy of the Greek cities, with regard to their privileges, when com-

pared to That, must appear mean, illiberal, and weak; but the expulsion of foreigners from Sparta, was detestable. These principles of government must dispeople every country, and, by dispeopling it, make its fate depend upon the event of every battle. The observation our author makes upon the weakness of the Lacedæmonians, after their defeat at Leuctra, was made, before, by Aristotle, who, though he does not mention that battle, can mean no other ; *μιαν γαρ πληγην εχ υπηνεγκεν η πολις, αλλ' απωλετο δια την ολισανθρωπιαν.* *Their city could not support itself under a single stroke, but was destroyed through*

Lacedaemonians, or of the Thebans, or, even, of the Athenians, who value themselves the most for their wisdom; all who, jealous of their nobility, and, communicating to none, or to very few, the privileges of their cities (for I say nothing of those, who expel foreigners) were so far from receiving any advantage from this haughtiness, that they became the greatest sufferers by it. The Spartans, after their defeat at Leuctra, where they lost seventeen hundred men, were not only unable, afterwards, to recover themselves from that calamity, but, shamefully, abandoned the com-

the want of people. The battle of Leuctra, a village in Boeotia, was fought in the archonship of Phraclides at ^dAthens, that is, in the second year of the 102^d Olympiad. The Thebans were commanded by the greatest man of his age, Epaminondas; and the Lacedaemonians by Cleombrotus, who was slain in the action, or died, presently after, of his wounds. Hudson says in a note upon this occasion (which M. *** has translated) that our author has diminished the number of the Lacedaemonians, who were slain in that battle; and adds that they amounted to four thousand men; for which, he quotes Xenophon. I have the passage of Xenophon, now, before me, and, by that, it appears that the ^e Lacedaemonians lost near a thousand men, and the Spartans about four hundred. Xenophon's words are these; οἱ δὲ πολεμαρχοί, ὄρωντες μὲν τῶν συμπανίων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεώσας ΕΓΓΥΣ ΧΙΛΙΟΥΣ, ὄρωντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιάδων οὐλῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ ὡς

ἐπ' αὐτοῖσιν τεθνεώσας ΠΕΡΙ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΥΣ. So that, Dionysius, instead of diminishing the numbers of the slain, has increased them; which should convince modern authors how cautious they ought to be in censuring the great writers of antiquity. The same French translator has rendered τὴν πόλιν ἀναλαβεῖν, *se relever, ni rebâtir leur ville*: He should have contented himself with the first, which is the sense of the Greek words: For, by adding the other, he has let his readers see that he imagined the city of Sparta was demolished by the Thebans after the battle of Leuctra; which is so far from being true, that, when the Thebans, and their allies made an irruption into Laconia sometime after that battle, and approached Sparta, Agesilaus obliged them to retire, and preserved the city, though it was without walls; ὁμῶς διεφυλάξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀειχίον ἔσαν, as ^f Xenophon says.

^d Diod. Sicul. B. xv. p. 484. Edit. Steph.

^e In Agefil. p. 662.

^f Ἑλλην. B. vi. p. 597. Edit. Leunclav.

mand of Greece. The Thebans, and Athenians, ³⁷ by a single misfortune at Chaeronea, were deprived, not only, of the government of Greece by the Macedonians, but, also, of the liberty they had inherited from their ancestors. But the Romans, though engaged in great wars both in Spain, and Italy, and employed, at the same time, in recovering Sicily, and Sardinia, which had revolted, Macedon, and Greece being, then, in arms against them, and Carthage contending, again, for empire, while the greatest part of Italy, was, not only, in open rebellion, but, also, drawing upon them the Hannibalic war; though surrounded with so many dangers at the same time, they were so far from being oppressed by these misfortunes, that they derived, even, an additional strength from thence, the number of their soldiers enabling them to encounter every danger, and not, as some imagine, the benevolence of fortune: Since, for all her assistance, they had been, utterly, ruined ³⁸ by the single

37. Εξ ἑνὸς τοῦ περὶ Χαίρωνεαν ἀτυχήματος. We find, by ^ε Diodorus Siculus, that the battle of Chaeronea was fought the year Charondas was archon at Athens, which was the third year of the 110th olympiad. Philip, who commanded the Macedonians, was, not only, superior to the Athenians, and Thebans, in the number of his forces, but, also, in military skill; the former having, before, lost their best generals, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus. It is remarkable that Philip, in rejoicing for this victory, got very drunk, which was no unusual thing

with him; and, in that condition, insulted his prisoners; when Demades, an Athenian orator, who was one of them, asked him if he was not ashamed, when fortune had given him an opportunity of acting the part of Agamemnon, to act That of Thersites? This reproach chastised Philip, who, not only, ceased to insult his prisoners, but gave them their liberty without ransom.

38. Εξ ἑνὸς τοῦ περὶ Καννας πλοῦματος. It is plain that our author followed Polybius in the account he gives of the loss sustained by the Romans at

defeat they received at Cannae, where of six thousand horse, only three hundred and seventy, and, of fourscore thousand foot, of which the infantry of the commonwealth consisted, little more than three thousand escaped.

XVIII. I admire, therefore, these institutions of the man; and, also, Those I am going to relate: He was persuaded that the good government of cities was owing to these causes, which all politicians boast of, but few establish; first, the favor of the gods, the enjoyment of which gives success to every every enterprise; next, temperance, and justice, by which the citizens, being less disposed to injure one another, are more inclinable to unanimity, and make virtue, not shameful pleasures, the measure of their happiness; and lastly, military courage, which renders, even, the other virtues useful to their possessors: He was sensible that none of these advantages are the effects of chance; but that good laws, and the emulation of worthy pursuits render a commonwealth pious, just, temperate, and warlike. He

the battle of Cannae; and yet, which is very strange, Polybius is quoted by M. ***, in his note upon this passage, to disprove what our author asserts. This will lay me under an obligation of quoting the words of Polybius, which agree, exactly, with Those of Dionysius. As to the numbers of foot, and horse, of which the Roman army consisted, ^h Polybius says, *ησαν δε συν τοις συμμαχοις, πεζων εις οκτω μυριαδας, ιππεις δε μικρω πλειυς των εξαχιλιων.* Then, after describing the battle, and the defeat of the Romans,

ⁱ he gives this account of the loss they suffered in their horse; *των μεν γαρ εξακισχιλιων ιππεων, εβδομηκοντα μεν εις Ουνευσιαν μελα Γαια διεφυγον, περι τριακοσις δε των συμμαχων σποραδες, εις τας πολεις εσωθησαν.* And, in speaking of the loss they sustained in their foot, ^k he says, *εξ αυτη δε τε κινδυνυ, τρισχιλιον μονον ισως εις τας παρακειμενας πολεις διεφυγον.* I shall not translate these passages of Polybius in this note, because I think I have done that already in translating the account given by our author in the text.

^h B. iii. p. 263.

ⁱ P. 266.

^k P. 267.

took great care, therefore, to encourage these, beginning with the worship both of the gods, and genius's ; and, according to the most approved rites in use among the Greeks, he appointed temples, places consecrated, altars, the erecting of images, the representations, and symbols of the gods, and declared their power, the beneficent presents they made to mankind, the particular holidays appropriated to each god, or genius, the sacrifices, which are most acceptable to them, the festivals, public games, and days of rest, and every thing of that nature : But he rejected all such traditional fables concerning the gods, as are mixed with blasphemies, or calumnies, looking upon them as wicked, useless, and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but, even, of good men : And accustomed his people to think, and speak of the gods with the greatest reverence, and to attribute no passions to them unbecoming their happy nature.

XIX. For this reason, it is not said, among the Romans, either that Caelus was gelt by his own sons ; that Saturn destroyed his own children to secure himself from their attempts ; or that Jupiter dethroned Saturn, and confined his own father in the dungeon of Tartarus : There is no mention made, among them, of the wars, wounds, or bonds of the gods, or of their servitude among men : Neither are there, among them, any processions, performed in mourning habits, with expressions of sorrow, and attended with the complaints, and lamentations of women bewailing the disappearance of deities ; such as the Greeks perform in commemorating the rape of Proserpine, and the adventures of Bacchus,

with many other things of the like nature. There is no such thing to be seen among them (though their manners are, now, corrupted) as enthusiastic transports, or Corybantic phrenfies; no begging under the color of religion, no Bacchanals, or secret mysteries, no promiscuous watchings of men, and women in the temples; nor any other extravagance of this kind: But all reverence is shewn to the gods, both in their words, and actions, beyond what is practised either among the Greeks, or Barbarians: And, what I admire above all things, notwithstanding the resort of innumerable nations to Rome, who are all under a necessity of worshipping their own gods according to the customs of their respective countries; the commonwealth has never, by public authority, adopted any of those foreign institutions; a misfortune many other cities have fallen into: But, if, pursuant to some oracle, any images of the gods have been brought thither from foreign nations, ³⁹ they honor them according to their own rites, banishing all fabulous impostures; and, in this manner, they worship the image of the Idaean goddess: For the praetors perform annual sacrifices, and celebrate annual games in honor of her, according to the Roman customs: But the priest, and

³⁹ Τοις ἐαυτῆς αὐτὰ τιμὰ νομοῖς. This adherence of the Romans to their own rites, and ceremonies, upon their adopting any foreign object of worship, appeared, remarkably, when they received Christianity: For they retained, and still retain their own rites, and their old temples; and, when new ones

are erected, the same position to the east, their statues, pictures, incense, holy water, processions, and all the gaudy apparatus of their former worship: So that, they still preserve their old religion, and have, only, changed the object of it.

priestess of this goddess are Phrygians. These carry her image in procession about the city, asking alms in her name, according to their custom, and wearing figures upon their breast, and striking their tymbals, while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honor of the mother of the gods: But no Roman born is, by any law, or ordinance of the senate, obliged to walk in procession through the city to the sound of flutes; to ask alms, or, dressed in a party coloured habit, to worship the goddess with Phrygian ceremonies: So fearful are they of admitting any foreign customs in religion; and so great is their aversion to all indecent fables.

XX. However, let no one imagine I am not sensible that some of the Greek fables are of use to mankind; some being designed to explain the works of nature by allegories; others, to administer comfort to people in distress; these to free the mind from agitations, and terrors; those to remove ill-grounded opinions, and several invented for some other useful purpose: Though, I say, I am not less acquainted with these things than the rest of the world, yet I am cautious of receiving them as a part of religion; and much more inclined to the theology of the Romans, when I consider that the advantages, flowing from the Greek fables, are small, and extend only to those, who have examined the end, for which they are designed; and this philosophy few are acquainted with; while the vulgar, who are ignorant of it, generally take these fables in the worse sense, and fall into one of these two errors; they either de-

spife the gods, as subject to many misfortunes ; or abandon themselves to the most shameful excesses, which they see are attributed to the gods.

XXI. But I leave these considerations to those, who make the speculative part of philosophy only their study. As to the constitution, established by Romulus, I think, these things, also, are worthy the notice of history : First, that he appointed a great number of persons to perform divine service. And, indeed, no man can name any new-built city, in which so many priests, and ministers of the gods were ordained from the beginning : For, without mentioning those, ⁴⁰ who are invested with family priesthoods, threescore were appointed in his reign to perform divine service for the prosperity of the commonwealth, both in the tribes, and the curiae : I only repeat what ⁴¹ Terentius Varro, the most learned man of his age, has written in his antiquities. In the next place ; whereas others, generally, make choice of such, as are to preside over religious matters, in a mean, and inconsiderate manner ; some thinking fit to

⁴⁰. Συγγενικας ιεροσυνας. M. * * * has translated this, *qui succedoient aux dignitez sacerdotales de leurs peres* ; the sense of which is that the priesthood was hereditary at Rome ; whereas the contrary of this is very well known to all men of learning. The priests mentioned here by our author were those, who performed the sacrifices peculiar to their families, which ¹ Cicero calls *sacrificia gentilia*, and in a particular place. Of this we find a remarkable

instance in ^m Livy, where Fabius came out of the capitol, then besieged by the Gauls, and passed through their army to the Quirinal hill, which was the particular place appointed for the performance of his family rites ; *sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae*.

⁴¹. Τεγενης Ουαρρων. This author is, often, quoted by Dionysius, and, often, mentioned by me in the notes, as the greatest antiquary Rome ever produced.

¹ De harusp. respon. c. 15.

^m B. v. c. 46.

make public sale of this honor; others, disposing of it by lot; he would not suffer the priesthood to be either venal, or distributed by lot; but made a law, that each curia should chuse two persons, both above fifty years of age, of distinguished birth, and virtue, competent fortune, and without any bodily defect: These were not to enjoy their honors during any limited time, but for life, freed from military employments by their age, and, from the cares of civil government, by this law.

XXII. And, because some rites were to be performed by women, others by boys, whose fathers, and mothers were living, to the end that these, also, might be administered in the best manner, he ordered that the wives of the priests should be associated to their husbands in the priesthood; and, if any functions were forbidden by the laws of the country to be administered by men, these women were to perform them; and their sons to exercise Those, that belonged to them; and, that the priests, who had no children, should chuse out of the other families of each curia, the most beautiful boy, and girl; the first to be assistant in the holy functions, till the age of manhood; and the girl to be so, as long as she continued unmarried: These institutions, also, in my opinion, he borrowed from Those of the Greeks: For, whatever functions are administered in the Greek ceremonies by those they call ⁴² *Κανηφοροί*, *Basket-bearers*, the same

⁴² *Κανηφοροί*. I see no reason to suspect this reading; since it is certain that they were called *Canephoræ* by the Romans. And, by that name,

Cicero calls the two brazen statues of Polycletus, which Verres took from Hejus of Messana: I shall quote the passage, because, by that, it will ap-

are performed by those, whom the Romans call by the same name: During these ceremonies, they wear on their heads the same kind of crowns, with which the statues of the Ephesian Diana are adorned among the Greeks. And the functions, which, among the Tyrrhenians, and before, among the Pelasgi, were administered by those, they called, ⁴³ Cadoli, in the rites of the Curetes, and in Those of the great gods, were performed, in the same manner, by those ministers to the priests, who are, now, called, by the Romans, Camilli. Besides, Romulus ordered one soothsayer out of each tribe to assist at the sacrifices: This soothsayer we call *ἱεροσκοπος*, *an inspector of the victims*; and the Romans, preserving something of the ancient appellation, *Aruspex*: He, also, made a law that all the priests, and ministers of the gods should be chosen by the curiae; and that their election should be confirmed by those, who, by their prophetic art, interpret heavenly omens.

pear in what altitude both painters, and sculptors ought to represent the Canephorae; ^a*Erant aenea praeterea duo signa, non maxima, verum eximiâ venustate, virginali habitu atque vestitu, quae manibus sublatis sacra quaedam, more Atheniensium virginum, reposita in capitibus sustinebant: Canephorae ipsae vocabantur. Sed earum artificem — Polycletum esse dicebant.*

⁴³ *Καδωλοι*. I can make nothing of this word. The commentators, though they differ with regard to the word, that should be substituted in its room, yet all agree in discarding this. Under these difficulties, I shall offer a conjecture of my own; I would read

Κασμιλλοι: My reason is, that Varro says the minister of the great gods is called, in Samothrace, Casmillus, which, he says, is a Greek word; and that he found it in ^o Callimachus. *Hinc Casmillus nominatur in Samothraciis mysteriis deus quidam, administer diis magnis. Verbum Graecum arbitror, quod apud Callimachum in poematis ejus inveni.* And I, really, think that ^pVirgil, who, every where, shews himself to have been, perfectly, acquainted with the antiquities of his country, alludes to this change of the word Casmillus to Camillus, when he says,

*matrisque vocavit
Nomine Casmillae, mutilatâ parte Camillam.*

^a In Verr. B. iv. c. 3

^o B. vi. De Ling. Latin.

^p Aen. B. xi. *ψ*. 543.

XXIII. After he had instituted these regulations concerning the ministers of the gods, he assigned the proper sacrifices to each curia, as I said, appointing gods, and genius's for each, whom they were, always, to worship; and limited the expences of the sacrifices, which were to be paid by the public. The curiae performed their appointed sacrifices with their own priests; and, on holy days, they feasted together in the dining-room belonging to the curia; for each curia had its own: Adjoining thereto a chapel⁴⁴ is consecrated, which is common to all the curia, like the Prytanea of the Greeks: These dining-rooms were, also, called curiae; which name they, still, retain. This institution Romulus seems to have taken from the discipline of the Lacedaemonians, among whom the societies, called⁴⁵ Phiditia, were, then, in great request; which institution

44. Καθωσιώλο. I approve, intirely, of the correction of Sylburgius, who thinks it ought to be καθωσιώλαι; because our^a author says, positively, in speaking of the institutions of Numa, that he erected this chapel, and that Romulus did not build a common temple to Vesta; for which, he there gives a very good reason. I observe that M. * * * takes the πρυτανεία, here mentioned by our author, to signify the houses, where those, who had deserved well of the Athenians, were maintained at the public expence, and deduces the etymology of the word from πυρρος ταμειον, the place where they kept the fire. But, though πρυτανεία has that signification, it, also, signifies

public dining-rooms, like Those erected by Romulus, and called, by the Romans, *Curiae*; and, in this sense alone, they are analogous to the latter. And as to his etymology, I must beg leave to think that πυρροταμειον, more naturally, accounts for the name of those public houses; which I shall support by the authority of the *Etymologicum magnum*; Πρυτανειον, says the author of it, τοπος ην παρ' Αθηναιοις, εν ω κοιναί σιτήσεις τοις δημοσίοις ευεργεταίς εδιδοντο· οθεν και πρυτανειον εκαλειτο, οταν πυρροταμειον (πυρρος γαρ ο σίλος) τῇ ἐστὶ τῇ δημοσίῃ σίλῃ ταμειον.

45. Φιδίτια. Thus they are called by^r Aristotle, who explains the word by συσσίτια; and gives the preference to Those of the Cretans, from whom, he

^a C. 65. of this book.

^r Πολιτικ. c. 7, et 8.

Lycurgus, who had learned it from the Cretenses, seems to have introduced to the great advantage of his country ; in peace, by promoting frugality, and temperance in their daily repasts ; and in war, by inspiring every man with shame, and repugnance to forsake his companion, with whom he had lived in a communion of libations, sacrifices, and holy rites. Romulus does, not only, deserve praise for the wisdom of these institutions, but, also, on account ⁴⁶ of the frugality of the sacrifices he appointed to be offered up to the gods ; the greatest part, if not all, of which remain to this day, and are performed in the ancient manner. I myself have seen, in the temples, repasts prepared for the gods, upon wooden tables of ancient workmanship ; and barley cakes, wafers, and spelt, with the primitiae of some fruits in baskets, and small earthen plates, and other things of the like nature, all simple, cheap, and void of all ostentation. I have seen, also, the libation wines mixed, not in silver and gold vessels, but in little earthen chalices, and ewers ; and, greatly, admired the men for adhering to the customs of

says, the Lacedaemonians took this institution : The reason he gives for this preference is, that, among the latter, every member of these societies was obliged to furnish a certain sum of money towards their entertainments ; whereas, the expence of the Cretan societies was supplied by the public, which, he says, was more popular.

⁴⁶ Τῆς εὐτελείας τῶν θυσίων. Livy makes a fine observation in relation to a crown of gold of small weight, sent

as an offering to Jupiter by the Latines, and Hernici, when they congratulated the Romans upon the extinction of the decemvirate ; *colebantur religiones pie magis quam magnifice*. Afterwards, when this magnificence prevailed in their public worship, when their temples were imbellished with silver, gold, and precious stones, and adorned with statues of the most exquisite workmanship, they paid no regard either to religion, or morality.

^s B. iii. c. 57.

their ancestors, and not degenerating, from their ancient rites, into a vain magnificence. There are, also, some other institutions, worthy to be both remembered, and related, which owe their birth to Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, a man of consummate wisdom, and of a rare sagacity in interpreting the will of the gods : But of these I shall speak afterwards. Others were added by Tullus Hostilius, the third king after Romulus, and by every succeeding king : But the seeds of them were sown, and the foundations laid by Romulus, who established the principal rites of their religion.

XXIV. Romulus, also, seems to have been the author of that good discipline in other things, by the observance of which the Roman commonwealth has flourished for many generations ; he having enacted many good and useful laws, the greatest part unwritten, but some committed to writing : All of which I do not think necessary to mention, but shall, only, give a short account of those I, chiefly, admire, and look upon as proper to illustrate the tenor of his other laws, and to shew how austere they were, how averse to vice, and how, nearly, resembling the lives of the heroes : However, I must, first, observe, that all legislators, as well Barbarians, as Greeks, seem, in general, to have been, rightly, sensible that all cities, as they consist of many families, are most likely to enjoy tranquillity, when the lives of private men are ⁴⁷ calm ; and to be agitated with many tempests, when

⁴⁷. Οταν οι των ιδιωτων ευσεβως βιοι. mistaken the sense of this expression.
All the translators have, in my opinion, M. * * * has said *une vie réglée* ; and

they are ruffled ; and that every able politician, whether he is a legislator, or a king, ought to introduce such laws, as will render private men just and temperate. But they do not all seem, equally, to have understood by what institutions, and by what laws, this may be affected ; and some of them have committed very great, and, I may say, essential errors in the principal, and chief parts of legislature. First, concerning marriages, and the commerce with women, from which a lawgiver ought to begin (as nature has begun from thence to form our lives) some, taking example from wild beasts, have allowed men, and women ⁴⁸ to converse together promiscuously, and without restraint, as the proper means to free mankind from the rage of love ; to banish jealousy, the parent of mutual slaughter ; and prevent many other mischiefs, which both private families, and whole cities are, often, exposed to through women : Others, by joining one man to

le Jay, *bonne conduite*. I believe the Latin translators missed them by rendering it *vivendi rationem exactam*. There is no doubt but, if every individual lives regularly, the city will be exceeding regular. This is not such a secret in politics, as to have induced our author to quote the authority of all the legislators to support it. His meaning is, that every city will continue quiet, as long as the individuals live *with ease* : For, nothing tempts men to disturb the quiet of any government so much, as domestic uneasiness, from what cause soever it flows. This sense our author has

thought fit to express, figuratively, by *ορθην πλεην*, and to say, afterwards, *χειμωνα αγειν* ; to which *ευσαθως βιοι* corresponds in the same figure, they being all terms of navigation ; and none more so than *ευσαθεν πελαγος*, so often, used by the best authors. This figure none of the translators seem to have had the least suspicion of.

⁴⁸ Κοινας τας μιξεις. This was Plato's system ; and a very extraordinary system it is ; His words are these ; *τας γυναικας ταυτας των ανδρων τελων παντων πασας ειναι κοινας. ιδιαι δε μηδενι μηδεμιαν συνοικειν* ; for which whim, he is, deservedly, censured by ^v Aristotle.

ⁱ Περὶ πολιτ. B. v. p. 655.

^v Πολιτ. B. ii. c. 1.

one woman, have expelled this rude and savage commerce ; however, concerning the observance of the marriage-rites, and the chastity of women, they never attempted to make any regulations whatsoever ; but gave up the thing, as impracticable : Others have neither allowed the use of women without marriage, like some Barbarians ; nor neglected the care of them, ⁴⁹ like the Lacedaemonians ; but have instituted many laws to keep them within bounds : And some have, even, ⁵⁰ appointed a magistrate to inspect the conduct of women : However, this provision was found insufficient to restrain them, and too remiss to reduce women of bad dispositions to the necessity of a modest behaviour.

XXV. But Romulus, without giving either to the husband an action against his wife for adultery, or elopement

⁴⁹ Ωσπερ Λακεδαιμονιοι. Aristotle, also, finds great fault with the Lacedaemonian women, who, he says, abandoned themselves to all sorts of excess ; ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολασως πρὸς ἀπασαν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τρυφερώς : It seems Lycurgus endeavoured to bring them under some government, but they resisting, he gave it over : So that they, not their lawgiver, were the cause of these irregularities. But, continues Aristotle, we do not consider who ought to be excused, and who not ; but, what is right, and what not ; ^w ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ὡς τέλος σκοποῦμεν τινὶ δεῖ συγγνωμὴν εἶναι, ἢ μὴ εἶναι· ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὀρθῶς, καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς.

⁵⁰ Ἀρχὴν τινὰ κατέστησαν ἐπιμελησομένην εὐκοσμίας γυναικῶν. These magistrates were called by the Athenians γυναικο-

νομοί : Their duty was, not only, to inspect the conduct of the women, (which, one would think, might have given them full employment) but, also, to enter the houses of those, who gave entertainments, and to count the guests : The master of the house being finable, if their number exceeded thirty. ^x Athenaeus, from whom I have this account, quotes, upon this occasion, some verses of Menander, whose precious remains cannot be too often transcribed,

Παρά τοις γυναικονομοῖς δὲ τὸς
ἐν τοῖς γαμοῖς
Διακονεῖας ἀπογεγραφεῖται πυθομένος
Πάντας μαγειροὺς κατὰ νομὸν καὶ νῦν τινὰ,
ἵνα συνθάνωνται τὸς κεκλημένους εἰς
Πλείους τις ὧν ἐξέσιν ἐσίῳν τύχη
ἔλθων.

^w Ib. c. 7.

^x B. vi. c. 11.

without cause; or to the wife an action against her husband for wasting her fortune, or for divorcing her without reason; without making any laws for the returning, or recovery of the portion, or regulating any thing of this nature; by a single institution, which, effectually, provides for all these things, as experience shews, he brought the married women, even, chearfully, to behave themselves with great order, and modesty: The law was this, “ That a woman, married “ to her husband by the holy laws, shall partake of all his “ fortunes, and sacrifices.” The ancients called holy and lawful marriages, by a Roman appellation, ⁵¹ *Farracia*, from the communion of *Far*, *Spelt*; which we call Ζεα; for this was the ancient, and, for a long time, the ordinary food of all the Romans; their country producing great plenty of excellent spelt. And, as we Greeks look upon barley to be the most ancient grain; and, for that reason, begin our sacrifices with barley-cakes mixed with salt, which we call Ουλαι: So the Romans, from an opinion that spelt is both

⁵¹ Φάρρακια. I do not remember to have met with *Farratia* in any Latin author for this kind of marriage: The word used by them, upon that occasion, is, *Confarreatio*, derived from *Far*, as our author says, *a Cake*, which was used in that ceremony. *Far* is called *Spelt* in our language, though I never saw any of it in England; but I have seen it growing in Germany, where they make bread of it, which is as white as wheat bread; and, indeed, it resembles wheat in every thing, but the size of the grain, which is less; and

the bread, made of it, is thought to be less nourishing. It is, generally, supposed that these kinds of marriages were, totally, abrogated by the institution of Those of another kind, called, *Coemptio*, which was a fictitious purchase; the married couple being supposed to purchase each other. But we find, by a speech of Tiberius, in ^y Tacitus, that they were not, wholly, disused, even, in his time; *Omissâ confarreati adfuetudine, aut inter paucos retentâ—accedere ipsius caeremoniae difficultates, quae consulto vitarentur.*

^y Ann. B. iv. c. 16.

the most valuable, and most ancient of grains, in all burnt-offerings, begin the sacrifice with That ; and this custom remains to this day, without deviating into first-offerings of greater expence. The participation in the most holy and first food of the women with their husbands, and their union with them, founded on their sharing in all their fortunes, took its name from this participation of spelt, and, necessarily, produced an indissoluble connexion, nothing being capable of dissolving these marriages. This law obliged both the married women, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves, intirely, to the temper of their husbands, and the husbands to retain their wives, as necessary, and inseparable companions : For, if she was virtuous, and, in all things, obedient to her husband, she was mistress of the house, as much as he was master of it ; and, after the death of her husband, she was heir to his fortunes, in the same manner as a daughter was to Those of her father ; if he died without children, and intestate, she was his sole heir ; and, if he left children, she had an equal share of his fortunes with them. But, if she committed any fault, ⁵² the injured person was her judge, and determined the

⁵² Δίκασην τον αδικημενον ελαμβανε, και τα μεγαλα της τιμωριας κυριον. Lipsius, who was a man of great learning, has given us the laws made by several of the Roman kings, collected, as he says, chiefly, from our author ; in which, he has been followed by many writers, who suppose the words, given by Lipsius, to have been the very words, in which these old laws were

enacted : For example, he has translated this law, mentioned by our author, into the language, used in the age of Augustus ; *Si stuprum commisit, aliudve quid peccasset, maritus iudex et vindex esto*. But the inscription in honor of Duillius for the first naval victory the Romans, ever, obtained, and his other successes against the Carthaginians, which is still extant, degree

degree of her punishment. In the case of adultery, or, where it was found that she had drank wine (which the Greeks would look upon as the least of all crimes) her relations, together with her husband, were appointed her judges; who were allowed by Romulus to punish both these crimes with death, as the greatest offences women could be guilty of: For he looked upon adultery as the source of impudence; and drunkenness, of adultery: Both these crimes continued, for a long time, to be punished by the Romans without mercy. And the length of time has shewn the goodness of this law concerning women: For it is allowed that, during the space of five hundred and twenty years, no marriage was, ever, dissolved at Rome. But, in the hundred and thirty seventh olympiad, and ⁵³ in the consulship

will convince any one that the Latin language, which changed so much from the year 493, or 494, in which Duillius was consul, as appears by this inscription, though his name is not in the *Fasti consulares*, and obtained this victory, to the time of Augustus, or about half a century before, must, in all probability, have changed much more from the time of Romulus, to That of Duillius, that is, in the space of 494 years. I shall transcribe a few lines of this inscription, for two reasons; the first, to shew what the Latin language was in those days; and the other, to do justice to the fidelity of Polybius, by laying before the reader some particulars, in which the account, given by that author of this naval battle, agrees,

surprizingly, with That, preserved in this authentic inscription. PRESENTED. MAXVMOD. DICTATORE. OLORVM. IN. ALTOD. MARID. PVGNANDOD. VICET. XXXQVE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CVM. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQVE. DVCIS. QVINRESMOSQVE. TRIRESMOSQVE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPRESET. ² Ηγεῖτο δ' Ἀννίβας αὐτῶν — τριακοντὰ μὲν τὰς πρῶτας συμβαλῆσας ναὺς αὐτῶνδρες ἀπέβαλον, συν αἷς ἐγενέτο αἰχμαλωτῶν καὶ τὸ τε στρατηγὸς πλοῖον — ἐφυγον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι — πενήκοντὰ ναὺς ἀποβαλονῖες.

⁵³ Υπάτεινοντων Μάρκου Πομπωνίῃ, καὶ Γαῖῃ Παπυρίῃ. Valerius Maximus, and Gellius are quoted; upon this occasion; but both of them, or their transcribers, have mistaken the year. Our author says the first divorce happened in the 137th olympiad, that is, the first year

² B. i. p. 23, et 24.

of Marcus Pomponius, and Caius Papirius, Spurius Carvilius, no obscure person, is said to have been the first man, who divorced his wife, the cenfors obliging him to swear that he took another with a view of having children, his own being barren : However, he was, by reason of this action, though founded in necessity, ever after hated by the people.

XXVI. These, therefore, are the good laws, which Romulus enacted concerning women ; by which he rendered them more observant to their husbands. But Those he established to inspire children with reverence, and ⁵⁴ piety to their fathers, and to oblige them to honor, and obey them in all things, both in their words, and actions, are still more august, and of greater dignity, and, vastly, superior to our laws : For the Greek legislators limited a very short time for the son to be under the government of his father ; some, till the expiration of the third year after he was arrived to manhood : Others, as long as he continued unmarried : And some, till their names were registered in the colleges

of this olympiad : For That must be, always, understood, when the year is not mentioned : Now, the first year of the 137th olympiad was the 521st year of Rome ; and, though, I find, some accounts of the succession of the consuls place the consulship of Pomponius, and Papirius the year after, yet they were, according to our author, and, in my opinion, according to truth, consuls this year.

54. Δικαιοσύνην. Our author uses this word, here, in a philosophical sense ; in which, δικαιοσύνη signifies *Virtue*,

generally ; as *αδικία* signifies *Vice*. The former, therefore, must not be confined, in this place, to *justice*, which is only one species of *Virtue*, as the piety of children to their parents is another. This is the doctrine of that great moralist, Aristotle, whose ethics I have, already, observed, and shall, often, have occasion to observe our author, frequently, alludes to with approbation, ^a εοικε δε πλεοναχως λεγεσθαι η δικαιοσυνη, και η αδικια, are the words of that philosopher.

^a Ethei. B. v. c. 1.

of the magistrates; as they had learned from the laws of⁵⁵ Solon, ⁵⁶ Pittacus, and ⁵⁷ Charondas, in which there is acknowledged to be great wisdom. The punishments, also, they ordered for disobedience in children were not grievous; allowing their fathers to turn them out of doors, and to disinherit them, and nothing further. Whereas, gentle punishments are not sufficient to restrain the folly, and insolence of youth, or to restore those, who despise their duty, to a sense of it: For which reason, among the Greeks, great indecencies are committed by children against their parents. But the lawgiver of the Romans gave full power (as one

⁵⁵ Σολων. The learned world is so much acquainted with Solon, that I shall say no more of him than that he was not an Athenian, though he was their legislator, but of Salamis, and flourished about the 46th olympiad. ^b He died at Cyprus, aged eighty years, and ordered his ashes to be carried to Salamis, and scattered about that island. This, Plutarch, in his life of Solon, treats as fabulous, though, he says, many writers of great credit, and Aristotle, amongst the rest, have affirmed it. However, the authority of Aristotle is, certainly, much more to be depended upon than That of Plutarch, which is, absolutely, confuted by these verses, quoted from Cratinus by Laertius;

Οἴκεω δὲ νησον, ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπων λόγος,
Ἐσπαρμένος κατὰ πᾶσαν Αἰανίος πόλιν.

⁵⁶ Πιττακος. There were two men of note of this name, both Mitylenaeans,

^b Laert. life of Solon.

^c Life of Pittacus.

of whom one, surnamed Μικρος, was a lawgiver, and flourished at the same time with Croesus; because ^c Laertius transcribes a letter from him to that prince.

⁵⁷ Χαρωνδας. ^d Aristotle calls him a Catanaean; and says that he gave laws both to his fellow citizens, and to other Chalcidic cities. We find, by our author, that all these three lawgivers gave power to the father over his son no longer than till he was chosen a magistrate: For we must read ἀρχεῖα with the Vatican manuscript, instead of ἀρχαῖα in all the editions; since we find το τῶν ἐφορῶν ἀρχεῖον in ^e Aristotle; and το τῶν δημαρχῶν ἀρχεῖον more than once in our author; who justifies this reading by what he says, presently afterwards, that Romulus gave absolute power to the father over his son, though invested with the first dignity of the commonwealth; καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐξελαζόμενος.

^d Πολιτικ. B. ii. c. 10.

^e Id. ib. c. 6.

may

may say) to the father over his son, even, during his whole life ; whether he thought proper to expel him his house, to whip him, to load him with chains ; and, in that condition, to employ him in agriculture, or to put him to death ; though his son were, actually, in the administration of the public affairs, though invested with the greatest offices of the state, and distinguished by his zeal for the commonwealth. In virtue of this law, men of distinction, while they were haranguing from the rostra in opposition to the senate, and in favor of the people ; and, on that account, gaining great popularity, have been pulled down from thence, and carried away, by their fathers, to undergo such punishment, as they thought fit ; and, while they were leading away through the forum, none present, neither consul, tribune, nor the people themselves, who were flattered by them, and thought all power inferior to their own, could rescue them. I forbear to mention how many brave men, urged by their valor, and ardor to perform some great action contrary to their fathers command, have, by them, been put to death ; as Manlius Torquatus, and many others are said to have put their sons to death. Concerning whom, I shall speak in a proper place.

XXVII. However, the power, given to fathers by the Roman lawgiver, did not, even, stop here ; but he allowed the father, also to sell his son, without regarding the imputation of cruelty, and of a severity, inconsistent with natural affection, which this allowance might be liable to ; and (what any one, who has been educated in the loose manners of

the Greeks may wonder at above all things, and look upon as harsh and tyrannical) he, even, gave leave to the father to make an advantage of selling his son, as far as three times; giving, by this means, a greater power to the father over his son, than to the master over his slave: For a slave, who has once been sold, and, afterwards, obtains his liberty, is his own master ever after: But a son, when sold by his father, if he should become free, returned to his father's power; and, if he was, a second time, sold, and, a second time, freed, he was, still, as at first, his father's slave; but, after the third sale, he was discharged from his father. This law, whether written, or unwritten (for that I cannot, certainly, affirm) the kings observed in the beginning, looking upon it as the best of all laws. And, after the dissolution of the monarchy, when the Romans, first, thought proper to propose in the forum to the consideration of the whole body of the people all the customs, and laws of their own country, together with Those of foreign institution, to the end that the rights of the public might not be changed as often as the power of the magistrates, the decemvirs, who were authorised by the people to collect, and transcribe these laws, inserted This among the rest; and ⁵⁸ it now stands in the fourth of the twelve tables, which they exposed in the forum.

⁵⁸. Καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν λεγομένων δωδεκά δέλτων. This law of Romulus, which our author says was confirmed by the decemvirs, is explained among the other laws of the twelve tables in a note on the eleventh book: But, to save the reader the trouble of turning

to that place, I shall give the words of it here; PATREI. ENDO. FIDIO. VITAE. NECISQVE. POTESTAS. ESTOD. TERQVE. IM. VENOM. DARIER. IOVS. ESTOD. SEI. PATER. FIDIOM. TER. VENOM. DVIT. FIDIOS. A. PATRE. LEBER. ESTOD.

How-

However, that the decemvirs, who were appointed, three hundred years afterwards, to transcribe these laws, did not, first, introduce This among the Romans; but that, finding it, long before, in use, they durst not repeal it, we are assured by many reasons; but, particularly, by the laws of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, among which there is this; “If a father gives his son leave to
 “marry a woman, who, by law, is to partake of his sacrifices,
 “and fortunes, he shall, no longer, have the power of selling
 “his son.” Which he would never have enacted, unless the father had, by all former laws, been allowed to sell his son. But enough has been said concerning these things. I shall, in a few words, give an account, also, of another institution, by which Romulus regulated the lives of private persons.

XXVIII. For, being sensible that the means, by which a whole people (the greatest part of whom are hard to govern) can be induced to embrace a life of sobriety, to prefer justice to gain, to cultivate a perseverance in labor, and to look upon nothing more valuable than virtue, is not instruction, but the habitual practice of such employments, as lead to each virtue; and that those, who practise them through necessity, rather than choice, as soon as they are free from that restraint, return to their natural disposition: For these reasons, he appointed slaves, and foreigners to exercise those trades, that are sedentary, and mechanic, and promote shameful appetites, looking upon them as the destroyers, and corrupters both of the bodies, and minds

of all, who practise them; and these trades were, for a long time, held ignominious by the Romans, and exercised by none of them. The only employments he left to freemen were these two, agriculture and warfare: For he observed that men, so employed, are temperate, less intangled in the pursuits of forbidden love, and subject to that kind of avarice only, which leads them not to injure one another, but to enrich themselves at the expence of the enemy: But, finding that each of these occupations, separate from the other, is imperfect, and produces murmurs, instead of appointing one part of the men to till the earth, and the other to lay waste the enemy's country, according to the institution of the Lacedaemonians, he ordered the same persons to exercise the employments both of husbandmen, and soldiers; and accustomed them, in time of peace, to live in the country, and cultivate the land, ⁵⁹ except when it was necessary for them to come to market; upon which occasions, they were to meet in the city, in order to traffic; and, to that end, he appointed a market to be held every ninth day: And, in time of war, he taught them the duty of soldiers, and not to yield to any, either in the fatigues, or advantages, that attend it. For, by dividing, equally, among them the

59. Πλην εἰποῖε δεῖσθαι ἀγορας. The reader, I dare say, will wonder to find this translated by *le Jay excepté les négociants*. These *merchants*, as he calls them, were the husbandmen, who went to Rome every ninth day; as our farmers go to the next market town to sell the product of their lands, and buy

what they want. Indeed, the Roman husbandmen, often, went to Rome to transact affairs of much greater importance: For, upon their resolutions, the fate of their own country, at first, and, afterwards, of all mankind depended.

lands, slaves, and money they had taken from the enemy, he inspired them with a chearfulness to ingage in his military expeditions.

XXIX. If any of the citizens had injured one another, instead of delay, he used dispatch in determining their differences; sometimes, taking cognizance of them himself, and, sometimes, referring them to others; and, always, proportioned the punishment to the greatness of the crime: Finding, also, that nothing restrains men from all evil actions, so effectually as fear, he contrived many things to create it; as the erecting a tribunal, where he sat in judgement, in the most conspicuous part of the Forum; the most formidable appearance of the soldiers, who attended him, being three hundred in number, and the rods, and axes, borne by twelve lictors, who whipped those in the forum, whose offences deserved it, and beheaded others in public, whose crimes were of the greatest magnitude. This was the constitution of the government established by Romulus: For the things, I have mentioned, sufficiently, enable us to form a judgement of the rest.

XXX. His other actions, both in war, and peace, which, also, deserve the notice of history, are as follows. The neighbouring nations being very considerable both for their numbers, and their strength, and none of them friends to the Romans; he proposed to gain their affection by marriages (which, according to the opinion of the ancients, was the firmest bond of friendship) but, considering that, as the Romans were, newly, settled, and neither powerful in riches,
nor

nor supported by the reputation of any great achievement, those cities would not, of their own accord, unite with them; but that, if violence, without abuse, were employed, they would submit to it, he determined, with the approbation of Numitor, his grandfather, to effect these marriages⁶⁰ by seizing, at once, a number of virgins. After he had taken this resolution, he first made a vow to the god, who presides over secret counsels, to celebrate annual sacrifices, and festivals, if his enterprise succeeded: Then, having laid his reasons before the senate, and they approving the design, he proclaimed a festival, and public games in honor of Neptune; and gave notice to the neighbouring cities, inviting all, who were willing, to be present at the assembly, and partake of the games: For he gave out that there would be prizes of all sorts to be contended for both by horses, and men. The concourse of strangers, who came with their wives, and children to assist at the festival, being very great, after he had performed the sacrifices, and games in honor of Neptune,

^{60.} Δι' ἀρπαγῆς παρθένων. Livy says that Romulus, by the advice of the senate, sent ambassadors to the neighbouring nations to propose an alliance, and to desire wives for his new people: This embassy, he says, was not well received by any of his neighbours, who despised the Romans; and, at the same time, apprehended lest this power, rising up in the middle of them, might prove fatal to themselves, and their posterity; and some of them asked the ambassadors, why they had

not opened an asylum for women also? That being the only means to provide themselves with suitable matches; ^f*Ecquid non foeminis quoque asylum aperuissent? Id enim demum compar connubium fore.* Whether this sneer, which seems not ill applied, was handed down to Livy by the old historians, or was the creature of his own invention, cannot now be known: But it must be allowed to come with a better grace from a Roman, than a Greek, historian.

^fB. i. c. 9.

the

the last day, on which he was to dismiss the assembly, he ordered the young men, when he should give the signal, to seize all the virgins, who were present at the shew, each taking the first he met with; to keep them that night without violating their chastity, and bring them to him the next day. The young men divided themselves into several bodies, and, as soon as they saw the signal, seized the virgins: Upon this, the strangers were in an uproar, and, immediately, fled, suspecting some greater mischief. The next day, when the virgins were brought before Romulus, he comforted them in their distress with this assurance, that his people, in seizing them, had no design to insult, but to marry them; and told them that this was an ancient Greek custom, and this method of contracting marriages, of all others, the most illustrious; exhorting them to cherish those, whom fortune had given them for their husbands: Then, taking an account of their number, which was found to amount to six hundred and eighty three, he chose an equal number of unmarried men, to whom he married them, each according to the customs of their respective countries; which he confirmed by granting to them ⁶¹ a communion of fire, and water, in

⁶¹. Επὶ κοινωνίᾳ πυρός καὶ ὕδατος.
 § Plutarch endeavours, by various reasons, to account for the custom, that prescribed to the bride to touch fire, and water: But they are all so trifling, that I shall not mention them. However, I must not omit the reason, given by M. *** in his note upon this passage; the design of making use of

fire, and water in marriages, was, he says, *pour marquer une parfaite union*; I suppose, because fire, and water agree so well together; as well, indeed, as many men, and their wives. Without entering into the reasons, therefore, of this custom, I shall only say that, as marriages were contracted by the use of fire, and water, so, when a man was

§ Roman. Quæst. i.

the same manner as marriages are performed, even, to this day.

XXXI. Some write that these things happened in the first year of Romulus' reign ; but ⁶² Cneius Gellius says it was in the fourth, which is more probable ; for it is not likely that the chief of a new-built city would undertake such an enterprize, before he had established the government of it. Some ascribe the cause of this ravishment to a scarcity of women : Others, to his seeking a color for a war : But those, who give the most rational account of it, and to whom, also, I assent, attribute it to a design of contracting a friendship founded on affinity with the neighbouring cities. The Romans, even, to this day, continue to celebrate the feast, then instituted by Romulus, calling it, *Consualia*, in which a subterraneous altar, placed near the greatest circus, the ground being sunk for that purpose, is honoured with sacrifices, and burnt-offerings of first-fruits, and a course is run both by horses in chariots, and by single horses : The god, to whom these honors are paid, is called Confus by the Romans ; which name, according to some, signifies, in our language, Ποσειδων σεισιχθων, *Neptune, who shakes the earth* ; and they say that he was honoured with a subterraneous altar, because this god has the command of the earth. I am

banished, he was said to be interdicted fire, and water. The most remarkable instance I ever met with of this interdiction, is the *Rogation*, as the Romans called it, drawn up by Sextus Clodius against ^h Cicero ; *Velitis, jubeatis, ut*

M. Tullio aquâ et igni interdicatur? Or, as Cicero says it was drawn, *ut interdictum sit*, which he, justly, censured as an absurd expression.

^{62.} Γνωσιος Γελλιος. See the 25th annotation on the first book.

^h Pro Dom. c. 18.

ſenſible there is another report ; that the feſtival is, indeed, celebrated, and the courſe of the horſes performed in honor of Neptune ; but that the ſubterraneous altar was, afterwards, erected to ſome ⁶³ ineffable genius, who preſides over, and is the guardian of, hidden counſels ; and that a ſecret altar was never erected to Neptune, in any part of the world, either by the Greeks, or Barbarians : But it is hard to aſſert which of theſe opinions is the trueſt.

XXXII. As ſoon as the report of the raviſhment of the virgins, and of their marriage, was ſpread about the neighbouring cities, ſome reſented the proceeding ; others, conſidering the motive, from whence it flowed, and the event it was attended with, bore it with moderation. But, in time, it occaſioned ſeveral wars, of which, ſome were of ſmall conſequence, but That againſt the Sabines was very conſiderable, and full of difficulty : All which ended happily, as the oracles had foretold to Romulus, before he made the attempt, ſignifying that he ſhould undergo great difficulties, and dangers, but that the event of them would be prosperous. The firſt cities, that made war upon him,

⁶³ Δαίμονι ἀρρήτω. The translators are divided, as uſual, in rendering this. Portus, and le Jay have given to ἀρρήτος the ſenſe of *unknown*, which is ἀγνώστος, as ⁱ Paul calls the *unknown* god, to whom the altar was erected at Athens. Sylburgius, and M. * * * have tranſlated it properly. The ancients, it ſeems, worſhipped ſome divinities, whoſe names they held it impious to

pronounce ; and, for that reaſon, called them ἀρρήτος θεός ; one of theſe was Proſerpine, who is called ἀρρήτος κρη by ^k Euripides in that truly poetical deſcription of the wandering of Ceres in ſearch of her ;

Ποθὼ τὰς ἀποικοιμένας
Ἀρρήτος κρηάς.

ⁱ Acts, c. xvii. ſ. 23.

^k In Helena, ſ. 1322.

were ⁶⁴ Caenina, ⁶⁵ Antemna, and ⁶⁶ Crustumerium: Their pretence was the ravishment of the virgins, and the desire to revenge it: But their real motive was a jealousy of the rise, and swift increase of Rome, and a resolution not to suffer a common evil to grow up, and become formidable to all its neighbours. These cities, therefore, sending ambassadors to the Sabines, desired that, as they were possessed both of the greatest strength, and greatest riches, and thought themselves worthy of the empire over their neighbours, and had not the least share in the late abuse, they would take upon them the command of the war: For the greater part of the virgins belonged to them.

XXXIII. When they could not prevail, the ambassadors sent from Romulus opposing them, and courting that people both by their words, and actions, they grew uneasy at the loss of time (the Sabines, for ever, affecting delays, and putting off to a long day the deliberation concerning the war) and resolved to make war upon the Romans by themselves, not doubting but their own strength, if the three nations united their arms, would be sufficient to conquer one inconsiderable city. This was their resolution: But they did not use the necessary expedition to assemble all

⁶⁴ Καίνηνη' πολις Σαβινων. ¹ Festus writes it Cenena. This town stood near to Rome, but its situation is not, certainly, known.

⁶⁵ Αντεμνα, or Antemnae, lay between Rome, and the confluence of the Anio, and the Tiber.

⁶⁶ Κρυστομεριον. This town is called

Crustumerium, and Crustumeria, both by Livy, and Pliny. It stood between the Tiber, and the Anio, about a mile north of Fidenae. ^m Cluver thinks that Crustumerium stood upon, or near the hill, on which there is, now, a tower, called, *Maringliano Vecchio*.

¹ Steph. Epitom.

^m Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 3.

together in one camp, which was owing to the eagerness of the Caeninenfes, who led out their forces before the rest, and seemed the greatest promoters of the war. This people, therefore, having taken the field, and wasting the country, that lay nearest to their own, Romulus led out his army; and, unexpectedly, falling upon the enemy, while they were, as yet, unprepared to receive him, he made himself master of their camp, which was, but newly, formed; then, following close those, who fled into the city, where they had, as yet, received no account of the defeat of their people; and, finding the walls, unguarded, and the gates open, he took the town by storm, and the king of the Caeninenfes meeting him with a strong body of men, he charged him, and, killing him with his own hands, took off his spoils.

XXXIV. The town being taken in this manner, he ordered the inhabitants to deliver up their arms; and, taking as many of their sons for hostages, as he thought fit, he marched against the Antemnates. Their forces, also, he defeated, in the like manner, by falling upon them unawares, while they were, yet, dispersed in foraging; and, having treated the prisoners like the others, he returned home with his army, carrying with him the spoils he had taken in battle, and the choicest part of the booty, as an offering to the gods; to whom, together with these, he offered many sacrifices. Romulus himself came last in the procession, clad in a purple robe, his hair bound with a crown of laurel, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity,

⁶⁷ in a chariot drawn by four horses. The rest of the army both foot and horse followed, ranged in their several divisions, hymning the gods in songs of their country, and celebrating their general with extemporary verses. They were met by the citizens with their wives, and children; who, ranging themselves on each side of the way, congratulated them upon their victory, and expressed, in every other instance, the greatest affection for them. When the

⁶⁷ Τεθριππῶ παρεμβεβηκώς. ⁿ Plutarch has thought fit to censure Dionysius for saying that Romulus triumphed in a chariot; which custom, he says, was, afterwards, introduced, as some authors write, by Tarquinius, the son of Damaratus; and, as others, by Poplicola. However, he has not thought fit to name these authors. If he had, we should have been able to judge whether their authority deserved better to be opposed to That of our author, than his own. I believe, the reason he gives, a few lines before, for contradicting Varro, the greatest antiquary the Romans ever had, will not, greatly, recommend his authority to the reader. Varro had derived *Opima spolia*, *Spoils taken from a general by a general*, such as Those Romulus took, from *Opis*, which signifies *Riches*: This derivation Plutarch finds fault with, and says, very absurdly, that *Opima spolia* may, with greater propriety, be derived from *opus*. Casaubon observes, upon this occasion, That Dionysius, being a Greek, and unacquainted with the Latin language, as he supposes, in reading the account, given of this triumph of Romulus by

^o Livy, who says, *fabricato ad id apte ferculo*, mistook *ferculum*, for a chariot. This note both le Jay, and M. * * * have translated; the former owning from whom he had it, and the other not. Casaubon's fancy supposes two things; the first, that Dionysius had read Livy, which I do not believe; because he never mentions him among the other Latin historians, whom he, often, quotes; and I have, upon another occasion, shewn ^p, I think, that it is probable Livy's history did not appear before That of our author: The other supposition is, that Dionysius, being a Greek, did not understand Latin enough to know that *ferculum* did not signify a chariot. In opposition to this, we must remember what our author has told us in his preface, that he had lived twenty two years at Rome, and made himself master of the Latin language: After which, it is ridiculous to imagine that a man of his parts, and application, should not, in so long a time, have understood Latin as well as an Eton, or Westminster scholar; most of whom, I dare say, know the signification of *ferculum*.

ⁿ Life of Romulus.

^o B. i. c. 10.

^p See the eighth annotation on the first book.

army entered the city, they found ⁶⁸ bowls full of wine, and tables spread with all sorts of victuals, which were placed before the houses of the most considerable persons, to the end that all, who pleased, might satisfy themselves. Such was the victorious procession, in which trophies were carried, and sacrifices offered up, called, by the Romans, *a Triumph*, which was first instituted by Romulus. But, in our time, these triumphs are become very expensive and ostentatious, and attended with a theatrical pomp, that seems calculated to shew their riches, rather than their virtue; and, in which, they have departed, in all respects, from their ancient frugality. After the procession, and the sacrifice, Romulus built a small temple, on the top of the Capitoline hill, to Jupiter, whom the Romans call ⁶⁹ *Feretrius*: For the ancient traces of it still remain, of which the longest sides are less than fifteen feet: In this temple, he consecrated the spoils of the king of the Caeninenfes, whom he had killed with his own hand. Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus de-

^{68.} Κράτῃσι οἶνω κεκραμέναις. Κράν is used here by our author in the same sense the poets use the word, that is, *to fill*, without any regard to mixture; thus, ^a Homer says,

κράσσει δὲ νεκλὰρ ἐρυθρὸν.

Upon which, the Greek scholiast, very well, observes, νῦν ἐνεχέεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας συνηθείας· εἰς κέρας γὰρ ἐγχεύετε ἐπὶνον.

^{69.} Ὑ Νέων—Δίος Φερείου. This temple Augustus repaired; and, what is very extraordinary, he repaired it by the advice of Atticus, who was an Epicu-

rean; and, by his principles, ought not to have been solicitous about the reparation of temples. The philosophy of Epicurus gained ground among the Romans in proportion as they were losing their liberty, and, the parent of that liberty, their virtue: It being very natural for men, who were plunging their country into slavery, and vice, first to wish, and then to believe, that their actions were secure from the observation, and chastisement of PROVIDENCE!

^a Οδυσσ. ε. γ. 93.

ἢ Corn. Nep. Life of Atticus.

dedicated these arms, may, without deviating from the truth, be called either Τροπαισχος, *The Trophy-bearer* ; Σκυλοφορος, *The Spoil-bearer*, as some are of opinion ; or Υπερφερελης, *Excellent* ; because he excels all things, and comprehends universal nature, and motion.

XXXV. After the king had performed the sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for his victory, and offered up the choicest of the booty, before he entered upon any other business, he assembled the senate to deliberate with them in what manner the conquered cities were to be treated ; he himself first delivering the opinion he thought the best. After all the senators, who were present, had approved of the counsels of their chief, as safe and generous, and given great applause to all the other advantages, that were likely to flow from them to the commonwealth, not only for the present, but for ever after, he called together all the women, who belonged to the Antemnates, and Caeninenfes, and had been seized with the rest : And, when they appeared before him lamenting, throwing themselves at his feet, and bewailing the calamities of their country, he commanded them to cease their lamentations, and be silent ; then, spoke to them as follows : “ Your fathers, and brothers, together
 “ with all the cities, to which you belong, deserve to meet
 “ with every kind of severity, for having preferred an unnecessary and dishonourable war to our friendship : How-
 “ ever, we have resolved, for many reasons, to treat them
 “ with moderation ; to which we are induced both by our
 “ fear of the indignation of the gods, ever ready to punish
 “ the

“ the arrogant, and by our apprehension of the envy of
 “ men; and are, also, persuaded that mercy does not, a
 “ little, contribute to alleviate the common evils, to which
 “ mankind are subject, as we ourselves have, formerly,
 “ stood in need of That of others: And your behaviour to
 “ your husbands having been, hitherto, blameless, we are
 “ of opinion that this will be no small honor, and return
 “ for it: We suffer their offence, therefore, to go unpunish-
 “ ed, and take from your fellow-citizens neither their liberty,
 “ their possessions, nor any other advantages they enjoy:
 “ And to those, who chuse to stay there, as well as to such,
 “ as are desirous to remove hither, we grant full liberty to
 “ make their option; not only without danger, but with-
 “ out fear of repenting. But, to the end they may never
 “ repeat their fault; and, that no occasion may be found
 “ to induce the cities to break with us, the best remedy,
 “ and That, which will, at the same time, conduce to the
 “ reputation, and security of both, will be, to make those
 “ cities colonies of Rome, and to send a proper number of
 “ our own people from hence to inhabit them, jointly, with
 “ your fellow-citizens. Go away, therefore, satisfied; and
 “ redouble your love, and regard for your husbands, to
 “ whom your parents, and brothers owe their preservation,
 “ and your countries their liberty.” The women, hearing
 this, were greatly, pleased, and, shedding tears of joy, left the
 forum. Romulus sent a colony of three hundred men into
 each city, to whom these gave a third part of their lands to
 be divided among them by lot; and those Caeninenfes, and
 Antemnates,

Antemnates, who desired to remove to Rome, he conveyed thither together with their wives, and children, they retaining the possession of their lands, and bringing with them all their effects. These, who were not less than three thousand, the king, immediately, incorporated with the tribes, and the curiae: So that, the Romans had then, for the first time, six thousand foot, in all, upon the register. Thus, Caenina, and Antemna, no inconsiderable cities, whose inhabitants were of Greek extraction (for they were, then, inhabited by the Aborigines, who had taken them from the Siceli, and who, as I said before, were part of those Oenotri, who came out of Arcadia) after this war, became Roman colonies.

XXXVI. Romulus, having finished these things, led out his army against the Crustumeri, who were better prepared than the former to receive him: And, after he had reduced them both in a pitched battle, and in an assault upon their city, they having behaved themselves with great bravery, he did not think fit to punish them any farther, but made this city, also, a Roman colony, like the two former. Crustumarium was a colony of the Albans, planted many years before the building of Rome. The fame of the general's valor in war, and of his clemency to the conquered being spread through many cities, several brave men joined him, bringing with them considerable powers, together with their whole families: From one of these leaders, who came from Tyrrhenia, and whose name was Caelius, one of the hills, on which he settled, is, to this day, called Caelius:

Whole

Whole cities, also, submitted to him, after the example of ⁷⁰ Medullia, and became Roman colonies. The Sabines, seeing these things, grew uneasy, and accused one another for not having crushed the power of the Romans, while it was in its infancy; instead of which, they were, now, to contend with it, when it was, greatly, increased: They determined, therefore, to correct their former error, by sending a considerable army into the field. And, soon after, assembling a general council in the greatest and most dignified city of the nation, called ⁷¹ Cures, they all gave their votes for the war, and appointed Titus, surnamed Tatius, king of the Curetes, to be their general. After the Sabines had come to this resolution, the assembly broke up, and every one, returning home, made preparations for the war, designing to advance to Rome, with a great army, the following year.

XXXVII. In the mean time, Romulus, also, made the best preparations he was able to receive them; being sensible that he was to defend himself against a warlike people.

⁷⁰. Μεδουλια. This town stood in the neighbourhood of Rome, and near the confines of the Sabines; and was a colony of the Albans. It belonged to the Latines, as our author informs us in the third book; *Μιαν δε πολιν εν τῃ Λατινων εθνῳς Μεδουλιαν.*

⁷¹. Κυρις. This city, the capital of the Sabines, has, long since, lain in ruins: But it is supposed to have stood on the spot, where there is, now, a small monastery, called, *il Vescovio di Sabina*,

not far from the river Himella, now called *L'Aia*, and something more than twenty five Roman miles north from Rome. This city gave two kings to the Romans, Tatius, and Numa, and, also, gave name to the Romans themselves, who, from thence, were called Quirites.

^u Κυρις, εξ ἧς ὠρμηνη οἱ τῆς Ρωμῆς βασιλευσαντες Τίτος Τάτιος, καὶ Νεμάς Πομπίλιος. Ἐντεθεν δὲ καὶ Κυρίδας ονομαζουσιν οἱ δημηγορευτες τῆς Ρωμαίης.

^s C. 34.

¹ Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 9.

^u Strabo, B. v. p. 349.

With this view, he raised the wall of the Palatine hill, by building higher works upon it, as a farther security to the inhabitants, and surrounded the adjacent hills, the ⁷² Aventine, and That, now, called the Capitoline hill, with ditches, and strong palisades: Upon these hills, he ordered the husbandmen, with their flocks, to pass the nights, securing each of them by a sufficient guard; and, if any other place could contribute to their security, he fortified That, also, with ditches, and palisades, and placed a guard there. In the mean time, there came to him a man of activity, and reputation for military achievements, whose name was Lucumo, lately, become his friend; who brought with him, out of the city of ⁷³ Solonium,

⁷² Τον Ανεήτινον. M. ***, in his note upon this passage, says that Dionysius contradicts himself by saying, in the third book, that Ancus Martius *fortified* this hill. However, the contradiction is not owing to our author, but to his misrepresentation of our author's sense; which will, plainly, appear by comparing the terms made use of by Dionysius in these two places. In this before us, he says that Romulus surrounded the Aventine hill with a ditch, and strong palisades; Τον Ανεήτινον αποταφρευων, και χαρακμάσι καίτεροις περιλαμβανων. In the other passage, he says that Ancus Martius made no small addition to the city by inclosing the Aventine hill within its walls; τη πολει μοιραν & μικραν προσεθηκε, ενλειχισας τον λεγομενον Ανεήτινον. The first, therefore, visibly, relates to the extemporary fortification made by Romulus to repulse the Sabines; and the other, to the

making this hill a part of the city.

⁷³ Εκ Σολωνις πολεως. There is a note in Hudson upon this occasion, which M. *** has translated, whereby it appears that there must be some mistake in the name of this city, there not having been any city so called in Tyrrhenia. ^w Cluver is there cited for reading Vetulonium instead of Solonium, which is a very reasonable conjecture; since Vetulonium was one of the twelve principal cities of Etruria, and so considerable, that the ensigns of magistracy, afterwards, in use at Rome, were thought to have been invented there; which gave occasion to Silius Italicus, quoted, also, by ^x Cluver, to say,

*Maeoniaeque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis :
Bis senos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces,
Et junxit totidem tacito terrore secures :
Haec altis eboris decoravit honore curules,
Et princeps Tyrio vestem praetextuit ostro.*

^w B. ii. c. 2.

^x B. viii.

a considerable number of auxiliary forces consisting of Tyrrhenians. There came to him also, from the Albans, sent by his grandfather, a good number of soldiers with their attendants, and, with them, artificers for making warlike engines : These men were supplied with provisions, arms, and all other necessaries. When every thing was ready for the war on both sides, the Sabines, designing to take the field in the beginning of the spring, resolved, first, to send embassadors to the enemy, with orders both to require the women to be sent home, and to demand satisfaction for seizing them ; to the end that, being denied it, they might seem under a necessity to enter upon the war : With this view, therefore, they sent embassadors. But Romulus thought it reasonable that the women, since they themselves were not unwilling to live with their husbands, should be suffered to remain with them ; but consented to grant them any thing else they desired, provided they applied to him in a friendly manner, and did not begin the war : However, they, agreeing to nothing he proposed, marched out with their army, which consisted of twenty five thousand foot, and near a thousand horse. The Roman army was not much inferior in number, ⁷⁴ the

74. Δύω μὲν αἱ τῶν πεζῶν μυριάδες, οὐχ ἄλλοι δ' ἵπποις. M. *** thinks it is not credible that the army of Romulus should be so numerous ; since, after he had incorporated the Caeninenfes, and Antemnates with his own people, the whole number did not exceed six thousand, as we have seen ; and it is not to be believed, he says,

that Caelius, the Medullini, and the other cities could have supplied him with fourteen thousand more. But he seems to have forgotten that our author has, already, told us that many brave men had, before, joined him with considerable forces, besides Caelius ; that many cities had submitted to him, besides Medullia ; that Lucumo had

foot amounting to twenty thousand, and the horse to eight hundred. This army, being divided into two bodies, incamped before the city : One of which bodies, commanded by Romulus himself, was posted on the Esquiline hill ; the other, on the Quirinal hill, which was not, then, known by that name : This division was under the command of Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian.

XXXVIII. Tatius, king of the Sabines, being informed of their preparations, decamped in the night, and marched through the country without doing any damage to the inhabitants, and, before sun rise, incamped on the plain, that lies between the Quirinal, and Capitoline hills : But, observing all the posts to be, strongly, guarded by the enemy, and no place of strength left for his army, he found himself under great perplexity, not knowing how to employ his troops while he remained there. But he was relieved from this anxiety by an unexpected piece of good fortune ; the strongest of the fortresses being delivered up

joined him, also, with a good number of forces, besides the Alban soldiers, and the artificers sent by his grandfather : And I cannot think it incredible that all these together might amount to fourteen thousand men. There is an expression, made use of by our author a few lines before, which well deserved the attention of the commentators ; it is this, *κηρυκας επεμ-
πον επι ταυλια* ; here we find the preposition *επι* used for a cause with an accusative case ; whereas, most authors,

and Dionysius, among the rest, generally give it a dative case upon those occasions. However, Herodotus, who was much admired by our author, as we find in his critical works, uses this preposition in the same manner ; where, speaking of the erroneous opinion the Aegyptians entertained that Cambyfes was the son of the daughter of Apries, he says, *Ἵ Κυρον γαρ ειναι
τον πεμφαντα παρα Αμασιν ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ, αλλ' ο Καμβυσεια.*

to him by the following adventure. For, while the Sabines were passing by the foot of the Capitoline hill, to view the place, and see whether any part of the hill could be taken either by surprize, or force, they were observed from the eminence by a virgin, whose name was Tarpeia, the daughter of a man of distinction, who commanded in the place: This virgin, as both Fabius, and Cincius write, ⁷⁵ had a mind to the bracelets, which they wore on their left arms, and to their rings: For, at that time, the Sabines wore ornaments of gold, and were, in no degree, inferior to the Tyrrhenians in elegance. But, according to the account given by Lucius Piso, the censorian, in his history, the desire of doing a great action led her to deprive the enemy of their defensive arms, and, in that condition, to deliver them up to her fellow-citizens. But which of these accounts is the truest, may be conjectured by what happened afterwards. This virgin, therefore, sending out one of her maids by a little gate, which was not known to be open, desired the king of the Sabines to come, and confer with her in private, as having an affair of necessity, and importance to communicate to him: Tatius, in hope of having the place betrayed to him, accepted the proposal, and came to the place appointed; when the virgin, approaching ⁷⁶ as near as the

⁷⁵ Ερωσ εισερχεσθαι των ψελλων. ^z Livy treats this account as a fable, and rather thinks she was bribed by Tatius to admit the Sabines: However that may be, our author has taken care to

secure himself under the authority of Fabius, and Cincius.

⁷⁶ Εἰς ἐφικτόν. Sylburgius has translated this, *quam potuit latentissime*. This is not the sense of the word, which has

nature of the place would allow, informed him that her father was, upon some occasion, gone out of the fortrefs that night, but that ſhe kept the keys of the gates; and, if they came in the night, ſhe would deliver up the place to them upon condition that they gave her, as a reward for the treachery, thoſe things, which all the Sabines wore on their left arms. This being conſented to by Tatius, ſhe received his aſſurance on oath for the performance of this agreement, and gave the ſame to him; then, having appointed the ſtrongeſt part of the fortrefs, to which the Sabines were to repair, and the moſt unguarded hour of the night for the enterprize, ſhe returned without being diſcovered by thoſe within.

XXXIX. So far all the Roman hiſtorians agree, but not in what follows. For Piſo, the cenſorian, whom I mentioned before, ſays, that a meſſenger was ſent out of the place by Tarpeia in the night to give intelligence to Romulus of the agreement made by her with the Sabines (in conſequence of which ſhe propoſed, by taking advantage of the ambiguity of the expreſſion in that agreement, to demand their deſenſive arms) deſiring him, at the ſame time, to ſend a reinforcement to the fortrefs that night, by the aſſiſtance of which, the enemy, ⁷⁷ together with their com-

nothing to do with *ſecrecy*. ΕΦικλον, δουαλον. Heſychius. The fidelity of M. * * *, in tranſlating Sylburgius. though it is, often, of advantage to him, ſometimes leads him into a ſnare; as it has done upon this occaſion: For he has rendered his miſtake literally; *Tarpeia ſ'y rendit auſſi le plus ſecrete-*

ment qu'elle put. Portus, and, conſequently, le Jay, have tranſlated it very properly.

⁷⁷ Αὐτῇ τῷ στρατηλάτῃ. Caſaubon, very juſtly, obſerves that Portus, by deſiring to add the prae poſition *συν*, did not conſider that this Atticiſm is, often, to be met with in the Greek manner,

mander, being deprived of their arms, might be taken prisoners: But, that the messenger, deserting to the king of the Sabines, acquainted him with the design of Tarpeia. However, Fabius, and Cincius, say there was no such thing; on the contrary, they affirm that the virgin observed her treacherous compact: But they all agree, again, in what follows. For they say that, upon the approach of the king of the Sabines with a detachment of his best troops, Tarpeia, in execution of her promise, opened the gate agreed upon, to the enemy; and, calling up the garrison, desired they would save themselves, immediately, by other outlets unknown to the enemy, as if the Sabines had, already, been masters of the place: That, after the retreat of the garrison, the Sabines, finding the gates open, and the place deserted, possessed themselves of it: And that Tarpeia, alledging that she had performed her part of the agreement, insisted upon receiving the reward of her treachery, according to their oaths.

XL. Here, again, Piso says that the Sabines being ready to give the virgin the gold they wore on their left arms, Tarpeia demanded their shields, not their ornaments: That Tatius repented the imposition, and, at the same time, thought of an expedient not to violate the agreement; which was to give her the shields, as the maid desired, but to find

authors. This is so true, that I scarce know a good writer, who does not, often, use it. I shall, therefore, content myself with quoting one instance of this Atticism from ^a Homer,

ιονί' αὐλῆσι βοεσσιν
 Ἀνδρας εἰς ἀλλοδαπας.
 Upon which, the Greek scholiast says,
 συν αὐλαῖς ταῖς βεσσι.

² Ὀδυσσ. υ. γ. 219.

means

means that she should make no use of them; and, immediately, threw his shield at her with all his force, and ordered the rest to do the same: And that Tarpeia, thus pelted on all sides, fell under the number, and force of the blows, and died overwhelmed with their shields. But Fabius attributes this collusion in the performance of the agreement to the Sabines: For they, being obliged, by their contract, to give her the ornaments of gold, as she desired, repined at the greatness of the reward, and threw their shields at her, as if they had engaged themselves by their oaths to give her these. But what followed gives the greater appearance of truth to the opinion of Piso: For she was honoured with a monument in the place where she fell, and lies buried on the most sacred hill of the city: And the Romans every year, perform libations to her (I relate what Piso writes) whereas, if she had lost her life in betraying her country to the enemy, it is not probable she would have received any of these honors either from those she had betrayed, or from those, by whom she was killed; but, if there had been any remains of her body, they would, in process of time, have been dug up, and cast out of the city, in order to ⁷⁸ deter, and warn others from committing the like crimes. But let every one judge of these things as he pleases.

XLI. However Tatius, and the Sabines, being masters of a strong fortress, and having, without any trouble, taken the greatest part of the Romans baggage, ⁷⁹ carried on the

⁷⁸. Φοβος. The reader will observe that Φοβος is used actively in this place, and signifies *terror*, not *fear*.

⁷⁹. Τον πολεμον διεφερον. I am very glad I can do M. * * * the justice to say that he is the only one, of the four

war, now, with security: And, as the armies lay incamped at a small distance from each other, several attempts were made, and skirmishes happened on many occasions, which were not attended with any great advantages, or losses to either party. Afterwards, two pitched battles were fought, in which, all the forces on both sides engaged with the greatest animosity; and each of them lost a considerable number of men. While the time was thus prolonged, they both came to the same resolution, which was, to decide, by a general engagement, the fortune of the war: Whereupon, the leaders of both armies, consummate in the art of war, and the soldiers used to action, advancing to the plain, that lay between the two camps, performed many memorable actions, as well in attacking, as in receiving the enemy; in rallying, and renewing the fight with equal advantage. Those, who, from the ramparts, were spectators of this doubtful battle, which, often varying, alternately inclined to each side, when their own people had the advantage, inspired them with fresh courage by their exhortations, and shouts; and, when they were pressed, and pursued, prevented a total misbehaviour, by their prayers, and lamentations: By which, both armies were compelled to support the dreadful incidents of the battle, even beyond their strength. The engagement having, in this manner, lasted all that day,

translators, who has rendered this passage with propriety: All the rest have given it this sense; *that they protracted the war*; whereas, he has translated it

simply, *faire la guerre*. And this is the sense ^b Herodotus has given to διαφερειν τον αιωνα, *to live*, in the letter, he says, Amasis writ to Polycrates.

^b In Thalia. c. 40.

without any advantage on either side, and night coming on, they both, willingly, retired to their own camps.

XLII. The following days, they buried their dead, took care of the wounded, reinforced their armies, and, resolving upon another battle, met, again, in the same plain; and fought till night, when the Romans had the advantage in both wings; the right being commanded by Romulus himself; and the left by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian: But, in the center, the battle remained as yet undecided; one man preventing the intire defeat of the Sabines; and, by rallying the troops, that gave way, he brought them, again, to dispute the victory with the conquerors: His name was Metius Curtius, a person remarkable for his strength, and personal courage; but, chiefly, celebrated for his contempt of every danger, and every fear. This man commanded in the center, and had overcome those, who opposed him: But, being desirous to restore the battle in the wings also, where the Sabine troops were, already, pressed, and their lines forced, he encouraged those about him; and, pursuing that part of the enemy's forces, that fled, and was dispersed, drove them to the gates of Rome: This obliged Romulus to leave the victory imperfect, and, returning from the pursuit, to hasten to that part of the enemy, that was victorious. This departure of Romulus with his forces gave an opportunity to the Sabines, who had been disordered, to renew the fight upon equal terms; and the whole danger, now, fell upon Curtius, and his victorious troops. For some time, the Sabines received the onset of the Romans, and fought with
great

great gallantry : But, being attacked by greater numbers, they gave way, and saved themselves by retiring to their camp ; Curtius securing their retreat, and preventing their being pursued, while they were in disorder ; which gave them an opportunity of retiring without precipitation : For he stood his ground, and fought, and received Romulus, when he attacked him in person. Here, ensued a great and glorious engagement between the leaders themselves : But Curtius, having received many wounds, and lost much blood, retired by degrees, till he came to a deep lake, round which it was difficult for him to advance, the enemy being posted on all sides of it ; and impossible to pass through it from the quantity of mud, that surrounded it, and the depth of waters, that were gathered together in the middle : When he came to the lake, armed as he was, he threw himself into the water : And Romulus, supposing he would, immediately, perish in the lake, and not being able to pursue him through so much mud, and water, turned upon the rest of the Sabines : But Curtius, with great difficulty, got safe, at last, out of the lake, without quitting his arms, and was led away to the camp. This place is now filled up ; but is called, from this adventure, the *Lake Curtius*, being about the middle of the Roman forum.

XLIII. Romulus, while he pursued the rest, advanced near the capitol, and had great hopes of making himself master of the place ; but, being weakened by many wounds, and hurt by a severe stroke with a stone, which, having been thrown at him from a high place, had hit him on the temple,

he was taken up half dead by those about him, and carried into the city. When the Romans, no longer, saw their leader, they were seized with fear, and the right wing fled: But the troops, that were posted on the left commanded by Lucumo, encouraged by their leader, a man much celebrated for military achievements, and who had performed many great actions during the course of this war, stood their ground for some time: But he himself being pierced through the sides with a javelin, and falling through weakness, they gave way also: Upon which, the whole Roman army fled; and the Sabines, imboldened by their flight, pursued them to the city: But, when they approached the gates, they were repulsed; the youth, whom the king had appointed to guard the walls, sallying out upon them with fresh forces; and Romulus, who, by this time, was, in some degree, recovered of his wound, coming out to their assistance with all possible expedition, the fate of the battle turned, and, greatly, changed in favor of the Romans: For those, who fled, recovered themselves from their late fear at the unlooked-for appearance of their leader; and forming, that instant attacked the enemy; while the Sabines, who were, then, ⁸⁰ driving the others into the city, and ⁸¹ made no doubt

⁸⁰. Κατειργοντες αυτες. Κατειργμενος, κατακεισμενος. Hesychius. And this is the sense the translators ought to have given to this word; which Sylburgius, and le Jay have done. Portus has said, *qui vero tunc intra moenia se continebant*; which would be very well, if our author had said κατειργοντες εαυτες.

⁸¹. Και μηδεμιαν οιομενοι μηχανην ειναι

το μη etc. This expression has great elegance, and is taken from Herodotus, whose style our author so often imitates, that I may venture to affirm no man can be qualified to translate the latter, who has not, in a good measure, acquainted, himself with the manner of the former. Cyrus (I mean the founder of the Persian empire) had a

of taking it by storm, when they saw this sudden and unexpected change, thought of providing for their own safety: But they found it no easy matter to retreat to their camp, being pursued from an eminence, and through a hollow way; and, in this rout, happened⁸² the great loss they sustained. After they had thus fought a doubtful battle that day, and both met with unexpected turns of fortune, the sun, now, being near his setting, they parted.

XLIV. The following days, the Sabines held a council, in which they deliberated whether they should return with their forces, after they had done all possible damage to the enemy's country, or send for another army from home, and prosecute the war with constancy, till, by a victory, they

jealousy of Darius, the son of Hyftaspes, and then adds, ^c *ἐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδὸς τοῦ μη κενὸν ἐπιβλεπέναι μοι*. I need not point out to the learned reader the analogy between this expression, and That our author has made use of upon this occasion. The Latin translator of Herodotus has rendered this very properly, though not very elegantly, by *nulla dubitatio*. Our English translator of that author, Littlebury, I find, has left out the whole sentence. Had Sylburgius considered this passage of Herodotus, he could not have rendered That, before us, *nec ullum obstare machinamentum putabant quo minus*, etc. However, he has been followed, in his error, by M. ***, who has said *que rien ne pouvoit les empêcher de prendre leur ville*. This passage of Herodotus, also, shews

that Sylburgius had no reason to change το μη into τὴ μη, notwithstanding the authority of the Vatican manuscript, which, though it has restored numberless passages, is, certainly, defective in this.

^{82.} Ο πολὺς φόνος. This particle ὁ, which is very expressive in Greek, makes a great alteration in the sense: For, πολὺς φόνος γινέσθαι, which all the translators have expressed in their several versions, differs, widely, from ὁ πολὺς φόμος γινέσθαι; the first signifying *a great slaughter*, and the other, that *the great slaughter* happened upon that occasion. I know there is a great difficulty in rendering these powers of the Greek language, in any other: But, every reader expects that a translator should, at least, attempt it.

^c In Clio, c. 209.

should

should put an end to it in the most honourable manner. They considered that it would be of bad consequence to them, both to return home with the shame of having effected nothing, and to stay there, when none of their attempts succeeded to their expectation. As to a treaty with the enemy concerning an accommodation, which they looked upon as the only honourable means of putting an end to the war, they thought it not more convenient to them, than to the Romans. On the other side, the Romans were, not less, but, even more, perplexed than the Sabines, what course to take in the present juncture: For they could resolve neither to restore the women, nor to retain them; looking upon the first to be attended with an acknowledgement of their defeat, and with a necessity of submitting to every thing else, that should be imposed upon them; and the other with many dismal scenes in the desolation of their country, and the destruction of the flower of their youth: And, if they should offer to treat of peace with the Sabines, they despaired of obtaining any favourable conditions, for many reasons; but, chiefly, because haughty men treat an enemy, who courts them, with severity, rather than moderation.

XLV. While both were consuming the time in these considerations, daring neither to renew the fight, nor treat of peace, the wives of the Romans, who were Sabines, and the cause of the war, assembling together, without their husbands, after consultation among themselves, determined to make the first mention of an accommodation to both armies. The person, who proposed this measure to the rest of the women,

women, was called Herfilia, a woman of no obscure birth among the Sabines. Some have said that, being already married, she was seized with the virgins as a maid: But those, who give the most probable account, say, that she staid with her daughter by her own consent: For, according to them, her only daughter was, also, ravished among the rest. After the women had taken this resolution, they came to the senate; and, having obtained audience, they made a long harangue, in which they, earnestly, desired leave to go their relations; expressing great hopes of uniting the two nations, and of establishing friendship between them. When the senators, who were present with the king in council, heard this, they were, exceedingly, pleased, and looked upon it as the only expedient in their present difficulties. Upon which, a decree of the senate was made to this effect; That those Sabine women, who had children, should, upon leaving them with their husbands, have permission to go, in the quality of ambassadors, to their countrymen; and that those, who had many children, should take some of them, and use their endeavours to reconcile the two nations. After this, they went out, dressed in mourning; some of them, also, carrying their small children. When they arrived in the camp of the Sabines, lamenting, and falling at the feet of every one, they raised great compassion in all, who saw them, none being able to refrain from tears. The council being assembled on this occasion, and the king commanding them to give an account of the reasons, that brought them thither, Herfilia, who had advised this

this resolution, and was at the head of the embassy, besought them, in a long and pathetic discourse, to give peace to those, who were interceding for their husbands, and for whose sake, they professed to have undertaken the war. As to the conditions of that peace, she said, the chiefs, assembling together by themselves, might settle them with a view to the advantage of both parties.

XLVI. After she had said this, all the women, with their children, threw themselves at the feet of the king, and remained prostrate, till those, who were present, raised them from the ground, promising to do every thing, that was reasonable, and in their power: Then, having ordered them to withdraw, and consulted together, they determined to make peace. And first, a truce was agreed upon between the two nations: After that, the kings had an interview, and a peace was concluded. The terms agreed upon, which they confirmed by their oaths, were as follows: That Romulus, and Tatius should be kings of the Romans, with⁸³ equal right of suffrage, and equal honors: That the city, preserving its name, should, from its founder, be called Rome: And that each particular citizen should, as before,

⁸³ ἰσοψηφος. I am surpris'd at the inaccuracy of the translators in rendering this word. Portus, and Sylburgius, by saying *pari potestate*, have mislead the two French translators, who, certainly, never thought of the Greek text, when they rendered it *un pouvoir égal, une puissance égale*. ἰσοψηφος, undoubtedly, signifies a person, who has

an equal right of suffrage; and, in this sense, Thucydides uses the word in that noble speech, in which Pericles encourages the Athenians not to submit to the Peloponnesians, who, he says, labor under many disadvantages; and, among the rest, mentions this, that^d πάντες τε ἰσοψηφοὶ οὐσιν, καὶ ἐχόμενοι, τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἐκάστος σπενδει.

^d B. i. c. 141.

be called a Roman: But that the people, collectively, should be comprehended under one general appellation, and, from the country of Tattius, be called ⁸⁴ Quirites: And that all the Sabines, who were willing, might settle at Rome, and bring with them the images of their gods; and that they should be incorporated with the tribes, and the curiae. After they had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and erected altars ⁸⁵ in memory of their oaths, about the middle of the holy way, as it is called, they mingled together, and all the generals returned home with their forces, except Tattius, the king, and three persons of the most considerable families, who staid at Rome, and received those honors, which their posterity after them enjoyed: These were Volusus Valerius, and Tullus, surnamed Tyrannus, with Metius Curtius, who swam cross the lake with his arms: Others staid, also, with their relations, and clients, not less in number than the former inhabitants.

XLVII. Every thing being settled, the kings thought proper, since the city had received a great encrease of people, to double the number of the patricians, by adding to the former illustrious families, as many of the new inhabitants;

⁸⁴ Κυρίως. * Livy assigns the same reason for this appellation: *Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliud daretur, Quirites a curibus appellati.*

⁸⁵ Ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν. The translators are unanimous in supposing, in their several versions, that they erected these altars in order to swear to the observance of the treaty upon them; with-

out considering that our author says they swore to perform the treaty before he mentions the altars: So that, I think, we must conclude that the altars were erected to perpetuate the memory of this treaty, which was confirmed in so solemn a manner; and, by which the two nations were united.

which addition they also called patricians: Of these, a hundred persons, previously chosen ⁸⁶ by the curiae, were incorporated with the ancient senators. Concerning these things, almost all the authors of the Roman history agree: But some few differ in the number of the additional senators: For they say that not a hundred, but fifty only were admitted into the senate upon this occasion. Concerning the honors also, which the kings conferred on the women, in return for their mediation, all the Roman historians do not agree: For some of them write that, besides many other considerable grants, they gave their names to the curiae, which were thirty, as I have said, That being the number of the women, who went upon the embassy. But Terentius Varro does not agree with them in this particular: For he says that Romulus gave the names to the curiae earlier than this, when he, first, divided the people; some of these names being taken from their chiefs; and others from the ⁸⁷ places

^{86.} Φρατρίαι. The French translators are unfortunate in rendering this period. M. *** has thought fit to call these, *les tribus*, instead of *les curies*, which he should have said. And le Jay has confounded the patricians with the senators, and made the hundred men, chosen by the curiae, to have been elected into the number of the patricians, instead of the senators, *pour prendre, comme les autres, le nom, et la qualité de patrices*. Patricians they were, to be sure, but they were senators also; which last quality he has omitted. By the original constitution of the Ro-

mans, the dignity of senator, as well as all the magistracies, could only be enjoyed by patricians: Thus, we shall find, that ^f Tarquinius Priscus, when he added another hundred persons to the senate, first made them patricians, and then senators.

^{87.} Απο παντων. Here is, certainly, a fault in the text, which runs through all the editions. This the translators have been so sensible of, that they have followed Gelenius, who, upon what authority I know not, has read απο των παλαι παλριδων. But the misfortune is, that the names of the curiae

^f B. ii. c. 67.

inhabited by the curiae: He says, also, that the number of the women, who went upon the embassy, was not thirty, but three hundred and twenty seven; and does not think it probable that the kings would have deprived so many women of this honor, to bestow it only upon a few of them. I thought it became me neither to omit these things, nor to say more of them, than was proper.

XLVIII. Concerning the city of the Quirites, from whence Tatius, and his followers came (for the course of this narration requires that I should speak of them also, and say who they were, and from whence) we have received the following account. In the territory of Reate, when the Aborigines were in possession of it, a certain virgin of that country, who was of the first quality, dancing with others of her sex, went into a temple of Enyalius: The Sabines, and, from them, the Romans give to Enyalius the name of Curinus; without being able to affirm for certain, whether he is the god Mars, or some other, enjoying the same honors: For some are of opinion that each of these names is attributed to the same god, who presides over combats: Others, that these names belong to two several gods of war. However, this maid, while she was dancing in the temple,

were not taken from the countries, from whence the people, who composed them, originally, came; but from the places they inhabited: Which is confirmed by Plutarch, who, in his life of Romulus, has, plainly, taken many things from our author; and, like him, mentions this opinion, that the names of the curiae were taken

from the women; which he treats as an error: And the reason he assigns for it, may, very probably, help us to the right reading of this passage; *πολλαι γαρ εχουσιν απο ΧΩΡΙΩΝ τας προσηγορίας*. I would, therefore, read, with a small alteration, instead of *απο παντων, απο τοπων*.

was, on a sudden, seized with divine inspiration ; and, ceasing to dance with her company, ran into the sanctuary of the god : After which, being with child by this genius, as every body believed, she brought forth a son, whose name was Medius, and his surname Fidius, who being arrived to manhood, had not a human, but a divine form ; and was, of all men the most renowned for military achievements ; and, being desirous to build a city, ⁸⁸ at his own expence, he gathered together a great number of people of the neighbourhood, and, in a very short time, built the city, called Cures: Which he called by that name, as some say, from the genius, who was reputed to have been his father ; or, as others write, from a spear ; for the Sabines call spears, *Cures*. This is the account given by Terentius Varro.

XLIX. But ⁸⁹Zenodotus of Troezene, who has written the history of the Umbri, says that the Sabines, first, dwelt, in the Reatine territory, as it is called, of which they were the original inhabitants ; and that, being driven from thence by the Pelasgi, they came into the country they now inhabit ; and, changing their name with their habitation, from Umbri, were called, Sabines. But Portius Cato says that the Sabines

⁸⁸. Αφ' ἑαυτοῦ. Portus has led the two French translators into an error by rendering this *de suo nomine* ; which they have translated without considering that the name of this man was Medius Fidius, and That of the city Cures, which name cannot, possibly, be derived from the other. We may, certainly, conclude that Sylbur-

gius saw this difficulty, by his leaving it out: Αφ' ἑαυτοῦ, plainly, signifies, *at his own expence*, and the Latin translators ought to have rendered it, *suis sumptibus*.

⁸⁹. Ζηνοδότος. I can find nothing worth relating concerning this historian.

received their name from ⁹⁰ Sabinus, the son of ⁹¹ Sancus, a genius of that country; and that this Sancus was, by some,

⁹⁰ Ζαεῖρος. I see no reason to substitute Sabus, with Sylburgius, in the room of Sabinus, contrary to the authority of all the manuscripts, and editions, since ⁸ Virgil, also, calls him Sabinus,

*Italusque, paterque Sabinus
Vitifator.*

⁹¹ Σάγκων. This is the true reading; and thus it must be restored in ^h Livy, where he says, in speaking of Vitruvius, *bona ejus Semoni Sanco censuerunt consecranda*. For this divinity of the Sabines was called ⁱ Semo, Sancus, Sangus, and Fidius; the last of which I look upon to be a Roman name, and the other three to have been the name of that god, as they called him, in the Sabine language, which was not, like the Latin, originally, Greek, notwithstanding the small colony of Lacedaemonians, who came to settle among the Sabines: And, that their language was not, originally, Greek, appears from the following passage of Livy, where he refutes the opinion of those, who held that Numa had been instructed by Pythagoras, which, he observes, could not be, since the latter lived in the time of Servius Tullius, above a hundred years after Numa, and resided at Croton, in a distant part of Italy: After which, he asks this question, ^k *Ex quibus locis, etsi ejusdem aetatis fuisset* (Pythagoras) *quâ famâ Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quenquam ad cupiditatem*

discendi excivisset? If Justin had read either Dionysius, or Livy, or, even, conversed with any, who had read them, he would never have fallen into the ridicule of charging the Romans with having erected a statue to ^l Simon Magus, upon no other foundation than this inscription on the statue of this Sabine god, SEMONI. SANGO. DEO. FIDIO. which he supposes to have been *Simoni deo sancto*. My learned friend, ^m Dr. Gregory Sharpe, says, in his justification, that, *in this, he did not intend to deceive any one*. This I am very willing to allow; but hope he will, also, allow that, if his sincerity acquits him of any design to deceive, his ignorance, and credulity render him a poor guide to follow. I wonder what the Roman Senate, to whom he addresses his apology, thought of this extraordinary discovery: But I suppose they had never heard either of him, or his writings. I observe, in reading this apology of ⁿ Justin, that he addresses it, not only, to the Roman senate, whom he flatters with the title of *ἱερά συγκλητός*, *holy senate* (a strange title to be given by a father of the Christian church to an assembly of heathens) but, also, to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and to the people of Rome. The statue, here taken notice of by Justin, was, I find, not a great many years ago, dug up in an island of the Tiber, with the very inscription before mentioned, which had, so unfortunately, misled Justin.

⁸ Aen. B. 7: *ψ*. 178. ^h B. viii. c. 20. ⁱ Ovid. Fastorum. B. vi. *ψ*. 213. ^k B. i. c. 18.
^l 1st Apology, p. 51. Edit. Oxon. ^m Apol. for the Christ. fathers, p. 134. ⁿ P. 1st and 2^d.

called Jupiter Fidius: He says, also, that their first habitation was in a certain village, called ⁹² Teftrina, situated near the city Amiternum: That, from thence, the Sabines made an incursion into the Reatine territory, which was, at that time, inhabited by the Aborigines; and, having, by force of arms, taken their most considerable city called ⁹³ Cotyna, they continued in possession of it: That, sending colonies out of the Reatine territory, they built many cities, in which they lived without fortifying them; and, among the rest, the city called Cures: And that the country they were in possession of, is distant from the Adriatic about two hundred and eighty stadia, and, from the Tyrrhene sea, two hundred and forty; and he says that the length of it was little less than a thousand stadia. There is, also, another account given of the Sabines in the histories of that country, which says that a colony of Lacedaemonians settled among them, when Lycurgus, being guardian to his nephew ⁹⁴ Eunomus,

⁹² Τεστρίναν. ° Cluver places this village near the city of Amiternum, and the river Aternus, now called, *Pescàra*. Amiternum stood between the head of this river, and Aquila, near to a small town, known, at this time, by the name of *S. Vittorino*.

⁹³ Κότυνας. As there is a great variety of opinions concerning the true reading of this word, I shall not trouble the reader with any conjectures relating to the situation of this controverted town.

⁹⁴ Εὐνόμον. The historians vary concerning the name of this man: ^P Herodotus calls the nephew of Ly-

curgus Leobotes, Λυκέρβον ἐπὶ τροπενυσανίᾳ Λεωβώτῳ ἀδελφίδες μὲν ἑωῦτα. Lycurgus gave laws to Sparta about the same time that Carthage was built by Dido, and about 116 years before Romulus built Rome. No man was ever a greater benefactor to his country than Lycurgus; since, having found it almost the worst governed nation of all the Greeks, he reformed it by such a system of laws, as the best judges have, always, admired, and the wisest nations imitated. The Lacedaemonians, before Lycurgus, were so little disposed to receive good laws, that he despaired of their prevailing among

° Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 8.

^P In Clío, c. 65.

gave laws to Sparta: That some of them, disliking the severity of his laws, and separating from the rest, quitted the city intirely; and, after ⁹⁵ a long navigation in the main sea, made a vow to the gods (for they were desirous to land any where) to settle in the first place they should arrive at: That, at last, they made that part of Italy, which lies near the ⁹⁶ Pomentine plains, and called the place, where they first landed, ⁹⁷ Feronia, in memory of their being *carried* through the main; and built a temple to the goddesses Feronia, to whom they had addressed their vows; which goddesses, by the alteration of one letter, they, now, call F_ηronia: That some of them, going from thence, cohabited with the Sabines: And, for this reason, many of their institutions are Laconic; particularly, their inclination to war, their frugality, and a

them by their own merit; which obliged him to have recourse to the Delphic oracle, and to prevail on the priestesses to recommend them to his country by her authority, which was then, universally, obeyed. This she did effectually, by recommending the ^a author of them,

Ηκεις, ω Λυκοοργε εμον ποσι πιονα νηον,
Ζηνι φιλος, και πασιν Ολυμπια δωμαί' εχχσι.
Διζω η σε θεον μαντευσομαι, η ανθρωπον.
Αλλ' ει και μαλλον θεον ελπομαι, ω Λυκοοργε.

The Delphic priestesses must have had a great dependance upon the credulity of mankind to make Apollo first, gravely, doubt whether Lycurgus was a god, or a man; and then, wisely, determine that he rather believed him to be a god.

95. Δια πελαγους πολλας. See the 163^d annotation on the first book. The ancients, at least, the Greeks, and Romans, were so little acquainted with navigation, that they called crossing the Mediterranean, for example, from Laconia to Italy, δια πελαγους φερεισθαι, *to sail through the main sea*, which appellation modern seamen scarce allow to any other navigation, than to the east, or west Indies.

96. Πωμενίνα πεδια. ^r These plains received their name from Pometia, the capital of the Volsci. ^s They lay between the rivers Astura, and Ufens; and, in these plains, stood the temple of *Feronia*, at the distance of three Roman miles from *Tarracina*.

97. Φερωνια. Απο τς φερεισθαι.

^a In Clio, c. 65.

^r Strabo, B. v. p. 355.

^s Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

severity in all their actions. But this is sufficient concerning the Sabines.

L. Romulus, and Tatius, immediately, enlarged the city, by adding to it two other hills, the Quirinal and Caelian; and separating their habitations, each of them had their particular place of residence. Romulus chose the Pallantine and Caelian hills, the latter being contiguous to the Pallantine; and Tatius the Capitoline, which he had, at first, possessed himself of, and the Quirinal, hills. And, cutting down the wood, that grew on the plain at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and filling up the greatest part of the lake, which, by lying in a hollow place, always abounded with the water, that came down from the hills, they converted this plain into a market place, which the Romans continue to make use of, even, to this day: There they held their assemblies, transacting their affairs in the temple of Vulcan, which stands a little above the forum. They built temples, also, and consecrated altars to those gods, to whom they had addressed their vows during their battles; Romulus, to ⁹⁸ Jupiter Stator, near the gate called ⁹⁹ Mugionia, which leads to the Palatine hill from the holy way, because this god had, in consequence of his vow, stopped his army in their flight, and brought them to renew the battle; and Tatius to the sun, and moon, to Saturn, and to Rhea; and, besides these, to Vesta, Vulcan,

⁹⁸. Ορθοσιω Διι. This is a translation of *Jupiter Stator*. He is represented in the coins of Antoninus Pius, and Gordian, in a standing posture, his right hand leaning on a spear; and, in his left, he holds a *fulmen*.

⁹⁹. Μυλωνισι πυλαις. This was the *Porta Mugionia*, so called from *Mugius*, who had the guard of it: *Porta Mugionia Romae dicta est a Mugio quodam, qui eidem tuendae praefuit.* Festus.

Diana, and Enyalius, and to other gods, whose names are difficult to be expressed in the Greek language. And, in every curia, they dedicated tables to Juno, called ¹⁰⁰ Quiritia, which are extant, even, to this day. They reigned five years together in perfect harmony; during which time, they undertook a joint expedition against the ¹⁰¹ Camerini: For these people, having sent out bands of robbers, and done great mischief to the country of the Romans, neglected, though often called upon, to give them satisfaction: Having, therefore, overcome the Camerini in a pitched battle (for these did not decline the engagement) and, afterwards, taken their town by storm, they disarmed the inhabitants, and took from them a third part of their country; which when the Camerini were laying waste, they marched out against them the third day, and, having put them to flight, they divided all their possessions among their own people; but suffered as many of the inhabitants as were willing to live at Rome: These amounted to about four thousand, whom they distributed among the curiae, and made their city a Roman colony. Cameria was a colony of the Albans, planted long before the building of Rome; and, anciently, one of the most celebrated habitations of the Aborigines.

¹⁰⁰. Ἡεὶ Κυρίτια. I look upon this to be a translation of *Juno Populonia*; because ^t Macrobius mentions a table dedicated in the temple of this Juno; *in Papiriano jure etiam relatum est, arae vicem praestare posse mensam dicatam; ut*

in templo Junonis Populoniae augusta mensa est.

¹⁰¹. Καμερίνης. ^u Cameria stood in the confines of the Latines, and Sabines, and in the neighbourhood of Rome.

^t Sat. B. iii. c. 11.

^u Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

LI. The sixth year, the sole government of the city returned to Romulus, Tatius having lost his life by a conspiracy, which the principal men of ¹⁰² Laurentum had formed against him upon this occasion: Some friends of Tatius, at the head of a band of robbers, had made an incursion into the territory of the Laurentes, where they took a great many of their effects, and drove away their herds of cattle, killing, and wounding those who opposed them. Upon the arrival of ambassadors from the injured to demand justice, Romulus was of opinion that the authors of the injury ought to be delivered up to the sufferers: However, Tatius, espousing the cause of his friends, would not consent that any persons should be delivered up to their enemies before judgement; particularly, that Roman citizens should be delivered up to strangers; but ordered those, who complained they had been injured, to come to Rome, and proceed against ¹⁰³ them according to law. The ambassadors, having obtained no sort of justice, went away full of resentment: And some of the Sabines, incensed at their proceeding, followed them, and set upon them while they were

¹⁰². Λαβινιαίων. There is a note of Calaubon upon this occasion, in which he contends, with great reason, that we must read Λαυρεντίων, instead of Λαβινιαίων; because, though Tatius was slain at Lavinium, the fact was committed by the Laurentes; which is confirmed both by ^w Livy, and ^x Plutarch.

¹⁰³. Αἰῶνις. I cannot agree with Portus in reading αἰῶνις, instead of

αἰῶνις, which must not be referred to τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσι, but to πρὸς αἰῶνις, that, immediately, precedes it. And, that διαζέοθαι τινί is elegant Greek, signifying *to sue any one*, may be proved from the best writers; particularly, from ^y Aristophanes, who makes Strepsiades thus complain of his creditors,

ἀλλὰ λοιδορῶσι με,
ὦς ἀδικὸς εἰμι, καὶ ΔΙΚΑΣΕΣΘΑΙ ΦΑΣΙ ΜΕ.

^w B. i. c. 14.

^x Life of Romulus.

^y Νεφ. γ. 1138.

asleep in their tents, which they had pitched near the road (for they were overtaken by the night) and, not only, robbed them, but killed all they found in their beds : Those, who had early notice of the attempt, and an opportunity of making their escape, retired to their city. After this, ambassadors, sent both from Laurentum, and many other cities, complained of this breach of the law of nations, threatening war, if they could not obtain justice.

LII. This outrage, committed on the persons of the ambassadors, appeared to Romulus, as it really was, a most heinous offence, and such a violation of a sacred law, as called for a speedy expiation ; and, finding Tatius neglected it, he himself, without further delay, ordered those, who had been guilty of this outrage, to be seized, and delivered up in chains to the ambassadors to be punished. Tatius was not only offended at the indignity, which he complained he had received from his colleague in delivering up the men, but also, moved with compassion for their situation (for one of the guilty persons was even his relation) and, immediately, taking a body of soldiers with him, he went in all haste to their assistance ; and, overtaking the ambassadors on the road, rescued the prisoners. Not long after, as some say, going with Romulus to Lavinium, in order to perform a sacrifice, which was to be offered up by the kings to the gods of their ancestors for the prosperity of the city, the friends, and relations of the ambassadors, who had been murdered, having conspired against him, slew him at the altar with the knives, and spits, used in cutting up, and

roasting the oxen, which had been killed for the sacrifice. But Licinius writes, that he did not go with Romulus, nor with a design to offer sacrifice; but alone, and with an intention to persuade those, who had received the injuries, to forgive the authors of them; and, that the people, being in a rage that the men had not been delivered up to them in pursuance of the determination both of Romulus, and of the Roman senate, and the relations of the dead assailing him in great numbers, he, being, no longer, able to escape their violence, was stoned to death. This was the end of Tatius, after he had been at war with Romulus three years, and his colleague five. His body was brought to Rome, where it was buried with great pomp, and the city performs every year public libations to him.

LIII. Romulus, being a second time, invested with the sole government of the city, expiated the crime committed on the persons of the ambassadors, by forbidding those, who had committed that outrage, the use of fire and water: For, upon the death of Tatius, they had all fled out of the city. After that, he acquitted the Laurentes, who had conspired against Tatius, and who, being delivered up by their citizens, and brought by him to a trial, were thought, with great justice, to alledge in their defence that they had punished violence by violence. After Romulus had finished these affairs, he led out his army against the city of the Fidenates, which is distant from Rome forty stadia, and was, at that time, both a large and populous city: For the Crustumerini, having sent provisions to Rome in boats, while
the

the Romans were afflicted with a famine, the Fidenates attacked the boats in great numbers, seized the provisions, and killed some of the men, who defended them : And, being called upon to make satisfaction, they refused it. Romulus, incensed at this, made an incursion into their country with a considerable force ; and, having made himself master of a great booty, prepared to return with his army : But the Fidenates marching out against him, he gave them battle ; and, the action being very warm, and many falling on both sides, the Fidenates were overcome, and put to flight. Romulus, pursuing them close, entered the gate together with those, who fled. The city being taken by storm, he punished a few of them ; and, leaving a guard of three hundred men there, and, taking from the inhabitants a part of their territory, which he divided among his own people, he made this city, also, a Roman colony. This city was founded by the Albans at the same time with ¹⁰⁴ Nomentum, and ¹⁰⁵ Crustumium, three brothers being the leaders of that colony, of whom the eldest built Fidenae.

LIV. After this war, Romulus undertook another against the ¹⁰⁶ Camerini, who had fallen upon the Roman colony, that was settled among them, whilst the city of Rome laboured under a pestilential distemper ; by which, the Came-

¹⁰⁴. Νομηνίω. So it must be read, not Νομηνία with the Vatican manuscript ; since Nomentum was the name of this town, which belonged, anciently, to the Latines. ² Nomentum lay beyond Fidenae, about twelve miles

to the north of Rome, and is, now, called *Lamentano*.

¹⁰⁵. Κεχστομερία. See above ; note the 66th.

¹⁰⁶. Καμαρίναι. See above ; note the 101st.

² Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

rini were, chiefly, encouraged; and, imagining the Roman nation would be, totally, destroyed by this calamity, killed some of the colony, and expelled the rest. In revenge for this outrage, Romulus, after he had, a second time, made himself master of the place, put to death the authors of the revolt; and, not only, gave his soldiers the plunder of the city, but, also, took from the citizens half their lands, besides that part, which, had been, before, divided among the Romans settled there; and, having left a garrison in the city, sufficient to quell any future motion of the inhabitants, he returned with his forces. Upon the success of this expedition, he triumphed a second time, and out of the spoils he consecrated a chariot with four horses in brass to Vulcan; and, near it, he placed his own statue, with an inscription in Greek characters, setting forth his actions. The third war Romulus engaged in, was against a city, at that time, ¹⁰⁷ the most powerful of Tyrrhenia, called Veii,

¹⁰⁷. Ἐθνὸς Τυρρηνικὸν τὴν μεγίστην ἰχυσσάν
τοῖς πολιν. M. * * * has said, *la plus
forte place de tout le païs des Tyrrheniens*;
and le Jay, *une ville tres-florissante*;
neither of which is a translation of the
Greek text, in which ἰχυσσα signifies,
powerful. I find ^a Cluver is of opinion
that we ought to read Φιδηναι instead
of Αθηναι; his reason is, that our au-
thor, afterwards, compares Rome,
under Servius Tullius, with Athens;
and he thinks it not probable that Veii
should have been so large as Rome.
But I cannot be of his opinion, be-
cause it appears, by this passage of

Dionysius, that Veii was the most
powerful city of Etruria; and we find
that, after Rome had been laid in
ruins by the Gauls, the Romans were
with great difficulty prevented from
removing to Veii: Upon which oc-
casion, ^b Livy, very reasonably, ac-
counts for their earnestness; *Quum
pulcherrima urbs Veii, agerque Veienta-
nus in conspectu sit, uberior, ampliorque
Romano agro. Urbem quoque urbi Ro-
mae, vel situ, vel magnificentia publicorum,
privatorumque teetorum, ac locorum prae-
ponebant*. This shews, sufficiently,
that Veii might, very well, be compared

^a Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 3.

^b B. v. c. 24.

distant from Rome about a hundred stadia : This city is situated on a high and craggy rock, and is as large as Athens. The Veientes made the taking of Fidenæ the pretence of this war ; and, sending embassadors, they summoned the Romans to withdraw their garrison from that city, and restore the territories they had taken from the Fidenates, and still retained, to the former possessors. But, not prevailing, they took the field with a great army, and incamped on an¹⁰⁸ eminence near Fidenæ : However, Romulus, having, beforehand, received information of their motions, had marched out with the flower of his army, and lay ready at Fidenæ to receive them. When every thing was disposed for the battle, both armies advanced into the plain, and came to an engagement ; and continued fighting for a long time with great animosity, till night, coming on, parted them, after they

to Athens, and, consequently, to Rome according to the reasoning of our author. ^c Cluver thinks that a town now called *Scrofano* stands on, or near the ruins of Veii. This city was in Etruria, and, consequently, lay on the west of the Tiber, and about twelve miles from Rome. ^d Florus, whose authority I should not quote, if it were not confirmed by other authors, describes the condition of Veii, in his time, that is, in the latter end of Trajan's reign, *laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus*.

¹⁰⁸. Εν αποπρω. The translators are divided, as usual, in rendering this : Sylburgius has said, *in edito loco*, and M. * * *, *sur une éminence* ; Portus, in

loco occulto, and le Jay, *dans un lieu fort couvert*. If the reader has so much indulgence for these gentlemen, as to think they translated from the Greek text, and that each of them followed the sense of that Latin translator he seems most to admire by mere accident, I shall say nothing to defeat the operation of so much good nature. The following explanation of the word αποπρος is supported by the example of the best writers, who use it in both these significations ; αποπρον, πορρωθεν ορωμενον, η αθεωρητον. Suidas. But, if our author had designed to speak of an ambuscade, he would, surely, have given an account either of the success, or disappointment of it.

^c B. ii. c. 3.

^d B. i. c. 12.

had fought with equal bravery, and success. This was the event of the first battle.

LV. But a second being fought not long after, the Romans obtained the victory by the conduct of their general ; who, in the night, had possessed himself of an eminence, not far distant from the enemy's camp, and placed there in ambush the choicest both of the horse and foot, who, since the last action, came to him from Rome : And both armies meeting in the plain, and engaging in the same manner as before, when Romulus gave the signal to the troops, that lay in ambush on the eminence, these, shouting, attacked the Veientes in the rear ; and, being fresh, and the enemy fatigued with the labor of the day, they soon put them to flight : Some few of them were slain in the battle ; but the greatest part, throwing themselves into the Tiber, which runs near Fidenæ, with intent to swim over the river, were drowned : For, being wounded, and spent with labor, they were unable to swim over : While others, not knowing how to swim, and, from a view of the danger, losing all presence of mind, were swallowed up in the eddies of the river. If, therefore, the Veientes had been sensible of their first error, and kept themselves quiet after this, no greater mischief had befallen them : But, hoping to repair their former losses, and imagining that, if they ¹⁰⁹ applied themselves to reinforce their

¹⁰⁹ Εἰ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἐπιβαλοῖεν. All the translators have agreed in giving this sense to these words, *if they attacked the Romans with a greater force*; without considering that the verb ἐπιβαλοῖεν, in that case, will stand single, and govern nothing ; which I do not think very grammatical: This they

all seem to be so sensible of, that they are obliged to supply the sense by the word *enemy*, or *Romans* : I have rather chosen to give to ἐπιβαλοῖεν the sense of ἐπιχειροῖεν, according to which, μείζονι παρασκευῇ is, very properly, governed by it.

army,

army, they should, with ease, have the advantage in the war, they levied numerous forces, consisting both of their own troops, and of Those of their countrymen, who, in virtue of their league, came to their assistance, and, a second time, marched against the Romans. Upon this, another sharp battle was fought near Fidenae, in which the Romans were victorious, killing many of the Veientes, and taking more of them prisoners. Even their camp was taken, which was full of money, arms, and slaves; as, also, their boats, which were laden with great store of provisions, and, in which, the prisoners, being very numerous, were carried down the river to Rome. This victory gave occasion to the third triumph of Romulus, which was much more magnificent than either of the former: And, not long after, ambassadors being sent by the Veientes to put an end to the war, and to ask pardon for their offences, Romulus imposed this penalty upon them: To deliver up to the Romans the country, that lies contiguous to the Tiber, called ¹¹⁰ *the seven villages*; and to quit ¹¹¹ the salt-pits, that lie near the mouth of the river; and, also, to bring fifty hostages, as an assurance of their attempting no innovations for the future. The Veientes

¹¹⁰. Ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. ^d Cluver thinks this place lay between Veii, and the sea, and between the Tiber, and the river Arno, which rises from the Sabatine lake, now called, *Lago di Bracciano*. But I do not know how this situation of the place can be reconciled to what our author says presently, that Romulus divided among these new citizens

the lands lying on the Roman side of the Tiber; which lands seem to be Those ceded by the Veientes, in pursuance of the treaty.

¹¹¹. Τῶν ἀλῶν. ^e This place was, anciently, called, *Salinae*; and the adjacent territory is, still, called, from thence, *Campo di Saline*.

^d Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 2. ^e Cluver, ib.

submitting to all these things, he made a league with them for one hundred years; and ingraved the terms of it on pillars. He, then, dismissed, without ransom, all the prisoners, who were desirous to return home: But those, who chose to remain there, and who were by much the greatest part, he made citizens of Rome, and distributed them among the curiae, and divided among them, by lot, the lands lying on this side of the Tiber.

LVI. These are the memorable wars, in which Romulus was engaged. The reason why he conquered no more of the neighbouring nations seems to be owing to his sudden death, which took him away while he was yet ¹¹² in the vigor of his age for warlike achievements; concerning which, there are many different relations: Those, therefore, whose accounts of his actions are rather fabulous, say, that, while he was haranguing his men in the camp, the sky, which was, before, clear, changing to a sudden darkness, and a violent tempest bursting from the clouds, he disappeared; and these believe that the man was taken up into heaven by his father Mars. But those, who write the most probably, say, that he was put to death by his own people;

^{112.} Εἰς ἀκμαζόντι ἀνὴρ τὰ πολεμικά
πραττεῖν. This does not signify *in the
height of his glory for military exploits*;
which is the sense all the translators
give to this passage. I should not find
fault with this version if it were not for
that unlucky verb *πραττεῖν*, at the end
of this sentence, which gives a very
different sense to the whole: For this

verb, in the infinitive mood, denotes
the direction of the adjective, or par-
ticiples, that precedes it. The Romans,
also, enriched their language with this
piece of Greek elegance, of which
many examples might be brought
from their best writers. To this
Grecism, ^f Horace is obliged for his,
Audax omnia perpeti.

^f L. i. Ode 3. v. 25.

and the reason they alledge for his murder is, that he released the hostages of the Veientes, without the common consent, contrary to custom; and that he did not behave himself in the same manner to the ancient citizens, and to Those, who were, newly, admitted, doing greater honor to the former, and despising the latter; and, also, that he shewed great cruelty, and haughtiness in the punishment of delinquents: For he ordered some considerable men, and those not a few in number, ¹¹³ accused of having robbed their neighbours, to be thrown down the precipice appointed for that purpose, assuming to himself alone the cognizance of their crimes: But, chiefly, because he was, now, become haughty and grievous to his people, and extended his power, governing more like a tyrant, than a king. For these reasons, they say, the patricians formed a conspiracy against him, and resolved to put him to death; and, having executed their resolution in the senate, they divided his body into several pieces, that it might not be seen; then, came out of the senate, every one hiding his part of him under his robes, which they, afterwards, buried privately. Others say, that he was killed, while he was haranguing the people, by the new citizens; and that they took the time of the darkness abovementioned, to commit the murder, the assembly of the people being, then, dispersed, and their chief

¹¹³ *Επι λησεια καληγορηθειας*. I cannot understand how Sylburgius came to render this, *Latrocinii convictos*; but I, easily, understand why le Jay translated it so. Upon this occasion,

I have great pleasure in doing justice to M. * * *, who has said, very properly, *ayant été accusés d'avoir fait des brigandages*.

left without a guard: And, for this reason, they say, the day, on which this act was committed, took its name from the flight of the people, and that, at this time, it is called ¹¹⁴ *Populifugia*: And, indeed, the incidents, prepared by the gods, with which ¹¹⁵ the conception, and dissolution of this man were attended, seem to give no small authority to the system of those, who make the apotheoses of mortal men, and place the souls of illustrious persons in heaven. For they say that, at the time when his mother was violated, whether by some man, or by a god, there was a total eclipse of the sun; that a general darkness, as in the night, covered the earth: And that, at his death, the same thing happened. This is reported to have been the death of Romulus, who built Rome, and, by her citizens, was chosen their first king. He left no issue; and, having reigned thirty seven years, died in the fifty fifth year of his age: For he was very young when he obtained the government; being no more than eighteen years old, as it is agreed by all, who have written his history.

LVII. The following year, there was no king of the Romans elected; but a certain magistracy, called by them,

¹¹⁴ Οχλος φυγη. Varro gives a much better reason for this name, than That founded on the opinion of those writers our author refers to. ^ε He says it was called so, because the Romans were, then, put to flight by the Tuscans.

¹¹⁵ Περὶ τὴν συγχεῖσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός. All the four translators have, with great unanimity, mistaken the sense of

συγχεῖσις, and called it, *his birth*: But it is plain that it signifies *his conception*, by what our author adds presently, viz. that, at the time his mother was violated, there happened a total eclipse of the sun: Now, though Romulus might be conceived, he, certainly, could not come into the world at the time his mother was ravished.

^ε De ling. Lat. B. v. c. 3.

an *Interregnum*, had the care of the commonwealth ; which magistracy was created in this manner : The patricians, who had been elected into the senate under Romulus, being, as I said, two hundred in number, were divided into decuriae ; then, drawing lots, the first ten persons, upon whom the lot fell, were invested by the rest with the absolute command of the city. However, ¹¹⁶ they did not all reign together ; but, successively, each reigning five days ; during which time, he had both the rods, and the other ensigns of the royal power. The first, after his power was expired, delivered over the government to the second ; and he, to

¹¹⁶. Εκεινοι δ' ἔχον ἅμα πάντες ἐξασίλευον. Livy, who took no notice of the addition made to the senate by the admission of a hundred Sabines, when the two nations became united, still calls the senators, *centum Patres*. However, it is, I believe, universally, allowed that the senate, after the peace with the Sabines, consisted of two hundred : For, though ^h Plutarch, in speaking of this *interregnum*, says it consisted of one hundred and fifty senators ; yet, he himself had, before, told us, in his life of Romulus, that a hundred Sabines were added to the senate ; ἐκατόν μιν ἐκ Σαβινῶν πατρίκιοι προσκαίλειλεχθῆσαν ; and, before that, in the same life, ἐκατόν δὲ τὰς ἀρίστους ἀπέδειξε βασιλεῖας (Ρωμύλος). But to return to ⁱ Livy ; his account of this interregnum is this : *Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii, et liētoribus erat : quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat*. It is plain that ^k Plutarch had this passage of Livy

before him, when he mentioned this transaction, because he has translated it ; and as plain, that he has mistaken the sense of it : He has applied these words, *quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium*, not to the person who presided, as he ought to have done ; but to the whole decury : So that, according to him, each decury governed but five days : The consequence of which must be, as he says, that every member of the decury governed twelve hours, which he has divided into six hours of the night, and six of the day ; ἐξ μὲν ὥρας τῆς νυκτός, ἐξ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. This is, I believe, the most extraordinary system of government that ever was invented, and worthy the fertile brain of a Delphic priest. But the words of Livy, plainly, import, that the president of every decury governed five days ; and, consequently, the whole decury, fifty ; as our author will, presently, tell us.

^h Life of Numa.ⁱ B. i. c. 17.^k Life of Numa.

the third; and, so on, to the last. After the ten first kings had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the government from them; and, from those, in like manner, others. Afterwards, the people thought fit to abolish these decemviral governments, being uneasy at the changes of power, because all of them had neither the same views, nor the same dispositions. Upon which, the senators, calling the people together in their tribes and curiae, proposed to them to consider of the form of government, and to determine whether they thought fit to commit the care of the commonwealth to a king, or to annual magistrates. However, the people did not take that determination upon themselves; but referred it to the senators, with intention to rest satisfied with whichever form of government they should approve of. The senators were unanimous for monarchy; but did not agree from which of ¹¹⁷ the two nations the future king should be chosen: For some thought that the person, to whom the administration was to be committed, ought to be taken out of the ancient senators: And others, that he ought to be chosen out of those, who were, afterwards, admitted, and whom they called the new senators.

LVIII. The contest being drawn out to a great length, they, at last, agreed to this alternative, either that the old

¹¹⁷ Εξ ὁποτέρου τάξεως. *Ex utrâ classe*, in Sylburgius, is very near the sense; and, in my opinion, better than *ex utro ordine* in Portus, whom M. *** has followed; because this seems to insinuate, that the contest lay out of which

order, that is, whether out of the patricians, or plebeians, the king should be chosen: Whereas, the dispute lay between the senators of the two nations, the Romans, and Sabines.

senators should chuse none of their own body to reign over them, but, of the others, whomsoever they should think the fittest person; or that the new senators should do the same. The ancient senators accepted the choice; and, after a long consultation among themselves, came to this resolution: That, since, by their agreement, they themselves were excluded from the sovereignty, they would not, at least, confer it on any of the competitors; but find out some foreigner, who should espouse neither party, and declare him king; this being the most effectual means to put an end to faction. After they had come to this resolution, they chose a man, by birth, a Sabine, the son of Pompilius Pompon, a person of distinction, whose name was Numa: ¹¹⁸ He was in that stage of life, being near forty, in which prudence is the most conspicuous, and of an aspect full of royal dignity. The reputation of his great wisdom was not confined to the Quirites only, but extended itself, also, to all the neighbouring nations. After this election, they assembled the people, and one of the senators, who was, at that time, the interrex, advancing, told them, that the senators had, unanimously, resolved to adhere to a monarchical form of government, and that he, having power to nominate the future king, created Numa Pompilius king of the Romans. After this, he appointed ambassadors of the patrician order, and sent them to conduct him to Rome, that he might be invested with the royal dignity. This happened in the third year

¹¹⁸. I intirely agree with Portus, that the following parenthesis, by some means or other, crept into the text

from the margin; *χρη δε την δευτεραν συλλαβην εκλεινοίας βαρυνονειν.*

of the sixteenth Olympiad, in which Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian won the prize of the stadium.

LIX. Hitherto, I have nothing to alledge in contradiction to those, who have published the history of this person; but, in regard to what follows, I am at a loss what to say. For many have written, that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras; and that, when he was chosen king of the Romans, he was studying philosophy at Croton. But the time, in which Pythagoras lived, contradicts this account: For he was not a few years, but ¹¹⁹ four whole generations later than Numa, as we are informed by general history: Since the latter began his reign in the middle of the sixteenth Olympiad; whereas, Pythagoras resided in Italy ¹²⁰ after the

¹¹⁹ Τεσσαρσι γενεαῖς ὁλαῖς ὕστερος ἐγένετο Πυθαγόρας Νυμᾶ. I have, already, shewn¹, upon another occasion, that Livy makes Pythagoras to have lived above a hundred years after Numa. Our author has treated the character of Numa so fully, that I shall only add an observation of Livy, who, after he has proved the impossibility of his having been a disciple of Pythagoras, says, that Numa had a mind fraught with native virtue, and rather formed by the severe discipline of the Sabines, which he calls ^m *tetricam*, and *tristem*, than instructed in foreign sciences.

¹²⁰ Πυθαγόρας δὲ μετὰ τὴν πενήτηκον ολυμπιάδα διέτριψεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. There is a note in Hudson upon this occasion, in which it is contended that we should read ἑξήκοντην, instead of πενήτηκοντην: This reading is, I find, supported by

great authorities; by That of our Dodwell in particular. I cannot, however, acquiesce in the opinion of Gellius, on which, it is, in part, founded. ⁿ He says that Pythagoras came into Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus: But, we have seen^o, from Livy, whose authority no man will let down so far as, even, to compare it with That of Gellius, that Pythagoras taught in Italy in the reign of Servius Tullius. Now, Servius Tullius, as we find by our ^p author, succeeded Tarquinius Priscus, in the fourth year of the fiftieth Olympiad, and was slain by Tarquinius Superbus in the fourth year of the ^q sixty first Olympiad. Between these two periods, therefore, Pythagoras must have come into Italy. I know that Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Pythagoras, says he flourished

¹ See the 88th annot.

^m B. i. c. 18.

ⁿ B. xvii. c. 21.

^o See the 88th annot.

^p B. iv. c. 1.

^q Ib. c. 41.

fiftieth Olympiad. But I have yet a stronger argument to prove that the periods of time, in which they lived, are incompatible with the relations given of this person ; which is, that, at the time Numa was called to the sovereignty by the Romans, the city of Croton was not yet in being: For Myscelus built it in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad, which was four whole years after Numa had been chosen king of the Romans: So that, it was neither possible that Numa should study philosophy under Pythagoras the Samian, who flourished four generations after him; nor that he should reside in ¹²¹ Croton, a city not then in being,

about the sixtieth Olympiad. But this rather confirms, than contradicts, the authority of Livy: For Pythagoras was, certainly, in higher esteem after he had opened a school of philosophy in Italy, than ever he had been before; and the sixtieth Olympiad falls in with the latter part of the reign of Servius Tullius. But it is time to consider the words of this passage. All the translators, except Portus, have rendered διαλεξεν εν Ιταλια, *he taught in Italy*; and, when they come to εν Κροτωνι διατρεχειν presently after, and to Πυθαγορος διαλεξιθην, they have all given to both the sense of *residing*, which is the only sense, in my opinion, the word will bear in all the three passages: For though Hudson, in a note of one line upon this occasion, has sent us to Suidas for the sense of the word διαλεξιθην, which, no doubt, signifies, as he says, *a philosophic exercise*, and even *a school*; yet, neither Suidas, nor any other author, I believe, ever used διαλεξιθην,

in the sense they have first given to it, that is, *to teach*.

¹²¹. Κροτων. This city, now called *Crotone*, stands near the sea; and was, anciently, much celebrated for its magnificence. ^r It lay in the territory of the Brutii, now *Calabria*, in the south-east part of Italy, the river Aësaros, now *Esaro*, running through it. The famous temple of *Juno Lacinia*, built on the northern part of the promontory *Lacinium*, now *Capo della Colonne*, stood about six Roman miles from it. It is possible this cape might have received its modern name from the gold column, that was in the temple of Juno Lacinia, which ^s Cicero says, Annibal, whilst he was master of that country, had a great mind to take away: But first he ordered it to be bored through, that he might see whether it was gold, or only gilt; and finding it was solid gold, he designed to take it, when Juno threatened him in his sleep, that, if he did, she would

^r Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 25. ^s Divinat. B. i. c. 24.

when the Romans called him to the sovereignty. But, if I may give my own opinion, those, who have written his history, seem to have laid hold of these two things, which are confessed on all hands, I mean the residence of Pythagoras in Italy, and the wisdom of Numa (for he is allowed by every body to have been a wise man) and to have blended them together; and, without examining, as I have now done, the periods of time, in which they both flourished, to have made Numa a disciple of Pythagoras. Unless any one will suppose there was another Pythagoras, who taught philosophy before the Samian, with whom Numa conversed. But I do not know how this can be proved; since it is not supported (as far as I know) by the testimony of any author of note, either Greek, or Roman. But I have said enough of these things.

LX. When the persons I have mentioned, came to Numa to invite him to the sovereignty, he, for some time, refused, it, and persisted long in his resolution not to accept the invitation: But, at the pressing instance of his brothers, and, at last, of his father, who would not suffer him to reject the offer of so great an honor, he consented to be a king. As soon as the Romans were informed of all this by the ambassadors, they conceived a great affection for him, before they saw

take care he should lose his other eye: For he had, already, lost one at his first entrance into Italy. The name of the founder of Croton is written different ways, by different authors.

However, ^tOvid, in speaking of the building of this city, calls him Myscelus with our author;

*Nam fuit Argolico generatus Alemone quidam
Myscelus, illius Diis acceptissimus ævi.*

^tMetamor. B. xv. v. 19.

him,

him, esteeming it as a sufficient argument of his wisdom, that, while others valued royalty beyond measure, looking upon it as the source of happiness, he alone despised it, as a thing of small value, and unworthy his attention: And, when he approached the city, they met him upon the road; and, with great applause, salutations, and other honors, conducted him into the city. After that, there was ¹²² an assembly of the people, in which the tribes, divided into

^{122.} Εκκλησίας δε μέγα τῶλο συναχθείσης, etc. In this election of Numa, we have all the formalities of enacting laws, anciently, practised at Rome. At the election of Romulus, these could not be observed, because the people were not divided by him into tribes, and curiae, till he was, actually, chosen king. The reader, therefore, will give me leave to examine these requisites in passing laws; which I shall do the rather, because, in this examination, I shall have the assistance of Livy, who, contrary to his custom, is very particular in every thing relating to the election of Numa. The first, and, indeed, the principal, object, to which I shall apply this inquiry, will be to consider what the Roman historians understand (I speak of the original constitution of the Romans) when they say, *Patres auctores sunt*. All the modern writers, at least, all I have seen, who have treated this subject, unanimously, agree, that these words signify a decree, passed by the senate, which was, upon that, sent to the people to be confirmed, or rejected, as they should think fit; in the same

manner, as with us, a bill, passed by the Lords, is sent down to the Commons. This opinion, I find, is, also, espoused by "Dr. Chapman, in his essay on the Roman senate, in which, he treats this subject in a greater detail, than any other author, who has written upon it. I am sensible that the words, *patres auctores*, are very imposing, and seem to imply, that the senate first passed the bill (if I may use that expression) which, it is supposed, was, after that, sent down to the people: But I am mistaken, if I do not convince the reader, that all laws, I still mean originally, were first passed by the people, and then sent up to the senate. The first authority I shall quote, which I, really, think decisive, shall be That of our author, where, as we have seen, he says, in speaking of the rights of the people, as established by Romulus, that, whatever was passed by a majority of the curiae, was sent up to the senate: Which custom, ^w he says, was inverted in his time: For then, the senate did not take cognizance of the votes of the people; but the people had an absolute power

^u P. 298. ^w B. ii. c. 14.

their curiae, passed a vote in his favor; and the resolution of the people being confirmed by the patricians; and, last

over Those of the senate. What, then, is the signification of these words, *patres auctores fiunt*? To this I shall answer, first, that, whatever the grammarians may think, *auctor* signifies, very properly, a supporter of any thing, without being the proposer of it. This I could prove by many authorities from the best writers; but, I, dare say, That of Livy will be thought sufficient: The passage I shall quote relates to a transaction, which I shall, presently, be obliged to take notice of upon another occasion. The words of^x Livy, that concern the present question, are these; *sed, ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius, collega ejus, auctor quum recentior, tum acrior erat*. Volero had proposed this law the year before, and Laetorius supported it, in conjunction with him, the year after. This verbal difficulty being removed, I shall proceed to confirm what I have said, by the form used at the election of Numa, which I shall lay before the reader in Livy's own words, in order to shew, that the original method of passing laws was, first, for the senate to make an order that such a thing should be laid before the people; then, if the people *willed, and ordered it, si vellent, juberentque*, it was carried up to the senate for their confirmation; which confirmation the Latin authors express by *patres auctores fiunt*, and the Greek writers, by *ἐπικυροῦσι*. This form of proceeding is described, in all its branches, by^y Livy upon this occa-

sion; *Tum interrex, concione advocatâ; Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit, inquit, Quirites, Regem create; ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, creaveritis, auctores fient*. Agreeably to this method of enacting laws, must be understood all the passages in our author, where he mentions a *πρεσβουλευμα* of the senate, which means no more than the original order, made by the senate, *to refer the matter to the people, ferre ad plebem*; and not the actual passing a decree to be confirmed by the people, as Dr. Chapman, all along, supposes. This method of passing all acts continued till the institution of the *Tributa comitia*, that were held without any previous order of the senate, or the ceremonies of the augurs; which last had no other end but to impose upon the people, and keep them in a dependance upon the senate. The first time these *comitia* were, ever, held was in the affair of^z Coriolanus, in the year of Rome 263, and not in the 281st, which Dr. Chapman says *gave the first rise to them*. The law, that gentleman, I believe, refers to, was, indeed, proposed by Volero in the year 282, when Lucius Pinarius, and Publius Furius were consuls: This year, Publius Volero was chosen one of the tribunes, and ^a*rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent*; or as^b Dionysius expresses it, *νομον εισφέρει περι των δημορχικων αρχαιρεσιων, μετ' αλων αυτα*

^x B. ii. c. 56.

^y B. i. c. 17.

^z Dionys. B. vii. c. 59. p. 298.

^a Livy, B. ii. c. 56.

^b B. ix. c. 41.

of all, the augurs having reported that the heavenly signs were auspicious, he entered upon the government. The

ἐκ τῆς Φρατρίακῆς ψήφιστος, ἣν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κεραιὴν καλεῖσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ΦΥΛΕΤΙΚΗΝ. There is nothing here, that tends to introduce the *tributa comitia*; the view of this *rogation* being no more than that the plebeian magistrates should be chosen at those *comitia*; which, of itself, seems to suppose them to have been, before, used, as I have shewn they, actually, were at the trial of Coriolanus. However, the senate, and patricians gave so great an opposition to this *rogation* of Volero, that it dropped for that year. The next year, Volero was re-elected, and one of his colleagues was Laetorius, before-mentioned, Appius Claudius, and Titus Quintius being consuls: And, notwithstanding the violence of Appius, the law was enacted; and, ^c as Livy says, *tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt*; and ^d Dionysius, more fully, ἀπ' ἐκεῖνης τῆς χρόνης τὰ τῶν δημαρχῶν, καὶ αγορανομῶν ἀρχαιρέσια μέχρι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνης, διχα οἰωνῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς οὔλειας ἀπάσης αἱ φυλεῖσαι ψήφιστος ἐκκλησίαι. Nothing could be more reasonable than this law: For, as the tribunes were the representatives of the people in all transactions between them and the senate, all possible care was to be taken to render the election of them independent on the senate. This could only be effected by their being chosen in the *tributa comitia*, in which, neither the previous vote of the senate, nor the force of the augurs, who were all patricians, were necessary, and the vote of the meanest citizen was of

equal weight with That of the greatest patrician; which was a right derived down to the people from the first establishment of their government, when every private citizen enjoyed the same privilege in the *curiata comitia*, as they, now, did by this law, which enabled them to chuse their plebeian magistrates in the *tributa comitia*. This original right the people had been deprived of by the establishment of the *centuriata comitia*, by Servius Tullius, as our author will, at large, inform us. So that, this law rather confirmed the people in the right their ancestors had, before, enjoyed, than granted them any new privilege. And, as to the reasonableness, and, even, necessity of this law, ^e Livy will explain it better than I can; *Haud parva res, sub titulo primâ specie minime atroci ferebatur; sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem, per clientium suffragia, creandi quos vellent tribunos, auferret*. Dr. Chapman seems sensible, that, by this law, the people were restored to that equality, they were, constitutionally, intitled to; and yet contends that, ^f *though this practice of passing laws in the tributa comitia was as unreasonable, as it was unprecedented, upon the footing it first stood, that is, as long as these were assemblies of the commons of Rome only, from which the patricians, or nobles, were quite excluded, it was far from being so, when they were admitted afterwards*. I wish the Doctor had told us when, and, upon what occasion, the patricians, or nobles, as he calls them,

^c B. ii. c. 58. ^d B. ix. c. 49.

^e B. ii. c. 56. ^f P. 312.

Romans say this person undertook no military expedition ; but that, being a pious and just man, he passed his whole reign in peace ; and established the best institutions for the government of the city. They relate, also, many surprising things of him ; attributing the effects of human wisdom to the suggestions of the gods : For they, fabulously, affirm that a certain nymph, called ¹²³ Egeria, frequently visited

were admitted into these assemblies of the commons, called *comitia tributa*, from which, he says, *they were first quite excluded* : But this, I conceive, he will find it impossible to shew, for this reason, because in fact, they never had been excluded from these assemblies of the commons, which were not, in their own nature, assemblies of the commons only, but assemblies of all the Roman citizens, patricians as well as plebeians ; as were also the *comitia curiata*, and *centuriata* : In the first of these, the Roman citizens voted in their *curiae* ; in the latter, in their *centuries* ; and, in the *tributa comitia*, they voted in their *tribes* ; and the majority of the tribes carried it in these *comitia*, as the majority of the *curiae*, and of the *centuries* carried it in the other two *comitia*. Now, it is certain, that every Roman citizen, patrician, and plebeian, belonged to some tribe, or other ; and, consequently, every Roman citizen, whether he was a patrician, or a plebeian, had a right to vote in his own tribe, when the *tributa comitia*, were held. These facts are incontestable. The reason, therefore, that induced the people to pass this law was, not to prevent the

patricians from being present at, and voting in, the *tributa comitia* ; which, by their constitution, was impracticable ; but, to secure the election of their plebeian magistrates from the influence, not the presence, of the patricians ; as they had, before, transferred the trial of Coriolanus from the *centuriata comitia*, to the *tributa* ; since, as the patricians, and the equites, together with the richest plebeians, composed the 98 centuries of the first class, that is, a majority of the whole number of 193 [§] centuries, they might, if they had agreed, have acquitted Coriolanus, had his crimes appeared ever so flagrant.

¹²³. *Ηγερία*. No systematical religion, ever, pretended to make its fortune without the assistance of miracles : This has been, very well, understood from the Aegyptians, and all, who borrowed their religion from them, either in whole, or in part, down to the French prophets, in the beginning of this century. No miracles are requisite to prove the existence, the infinite power, the infinite wisdom, and the infinite goodness of the GREAT CREATOR, and PRESERVER of all things ; Infinite perfections ! which our faculties are

§ Dionys. B. vii. c. 59.

him,

him, and instructed him in the ¹²⁴art of reigning. Others assert, that it was not a nymph, but one of the Muses; and that this was manifest to every one: For they say, that mankind being, as may well be supposed, incredulous at first, and looking on the account relating to the goddess, as fictitious, he, with intent to give the unbelievers an evident proof of his commerce with this divinity, pursuant to her direction, made use of the following device: He invited to his house a great many of the Romans, all men of worth; and, having shewn them his apartments very ill provided with furniture, but, particularly, with every thing, that is necessary to entertain a numerous company, he ordered them to depart at that time, but invited them to supper in the evening; and, when they came at the appointed hour, he shewed them rich ¹²⁵beds, and side boards covered with cups of exquisite workmanship; and, when

too limited to comprehend, but not to acknowledge: The wonderful order of nature alone leads us, irresistibly, to this acknowledgment; and miracles, which are understood to be so many interruptions of this order, can prove nothing they are designed to prove, so effectually, as the continuance of this admirable frame proves its GREAT AUTHOR. And Christians ought not to lay too great a stress on miracles, since they are taught, by the ^hOld testament, that they have been wrought, and, by the ⁱNew, that they will be wrought, by impostors.

¹²⁴ Βασιλική σοφία. This wisdom of kings, or the art of reigning, is a

^h Exod. c. vii. §. 11. and 22. c. viii. §. 7.

science, above all others, of the greatest consequence to mankind; since their happiness will be, always, proportionate to the degree, in which this science is possessed by their chief magistrates. This spirit ^k David prays for, according to the Septuagint, and the Vulgate; πνευμάτι 'ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΚΩ σφριξόν με; *Spiritu principali confirma me*: In Hebrew, וְרוּחַ נְבוּאָה which signifies *a prophetic*, or, rather, *a prophet*, spirit. I am sorry to see this noble prayer from a prince debased in our translation of the Bible; *Stablish me with thy free spirit*.

¹²⁵ Στεωμένη κοίτη. Hesychius.

ⁱ Mat. c. xxiv. §. 24.

^k Psalm li. §. 12.

they

they were at table, he gave them an entertainment consisting of all sorts of meats, such a one as it was not easy for any man in those days to have prepared in a long time. The Romans were astonished at every thing they saw; and from that time, they entertained a firm belief that some goddesses conversed with him.

LXI. But those, who banish every thing that is fabulous from history, say that the report concerning Egeria was devised by Numa, to the end that, when once the people were possessed with a fear of the gods, they might pay a greater regard to him; and, willingly, receive the laws he was enacting, as derived from them: They add, that, in this, he followed the example of the Greeks; and imitated the wisdom both of Minos, the Cretan, and of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian. Of whom the first said he conversed with Jupiter; and, going, frequently, to the Dictæan mountain, in which the Cretan fables say, that Jupiter, newly born, was brought up by the Curetes, he used to descend into a holy cave; and, having composed his laws there, he produced them, affirming that he had received them from Jupiter: And Lycurgus, going to Delphi, said he formed his system of laws by the direction of Apollo. But, being sensible that an accurate account of the fabulous histories, and, particularly, of such as are attributed to the gods, would require a long discussion, I shall omit it, and lay before the reader the benefits, which the Romans seem to have received from the government of this person, according to the information I have procured from
the

the histories of their country. But I shall, first, give an account of the great disturbances, with which the city of Rome was agitated before his accession to the throne.

LXII. After the death of Romulus, the senate being in possession of the whole power of the commonwealth, and, having retained it during one year, as I have said, began to disagree among themselves, and fall into factions; while one part of them contended for pre-eminence, and the other for equality: For the Alban senators, who, together with Romulus, had planted the colony, pretended, not only, upon delivering their opinions first, and enjoying the greatest honors; but, also, on being courted by the new comers: On the other side, such of these, as had been afterwards admitted among the patricians, insisted that they ought not to be shut out from any honors, or be in a worse condition than the others: This was, particularly, urged by the ¹²⁶ Sabines, who, in virtue of the treaty, entered into between Romulus, and Tatius, were, equally, intitled to all the privileges of the city with the ancient inhabitants, for which they had made an ample return. The senate being, thus, divided, their clients, also, formed themselves into two parties, and each joined their respective factions. There were among the common people not a few, lately, admitted into the number of the citizens; who, having never assisted Romulus in any of his wars, had been neglected by him, and

^{126.} Μαλιστα δ' ὅσοι τῶν Σαβινων, etc. mentators to restore it, have proved
This period is so much corrupted, useless.
that all the endeavours of the com-

not suffered to partake either in the distribution of lands, or in the booty he had taken. These, having no settlement, but, being poor, and vagabonds, were, by necessity, enemies to their superiors, and ripe for innovation. Numa, having found the city in this ferment, first relieved the poor, by distributing among them some small part both of those lands, which had been in the possession of Romulus, and of those, that belonged to the public : After that, he reconciled the patricians ; not by depriving the founders of the city of any thing they were in possession of ; but, by bestowing some other honors on the new-comers : And, having adapted the whole body of the people, like an instrument, to the sole consideration of the public good ; and enlarged the circuit of the city, by the addition of the Quirinal hill (for, till that time, it was not inclosed with a wall) he turned his thoughts to other institutions, labouring to inculcate these two things, by the advantage of which he conceived the city would become flourishing and great : The first, Piety ; by informing his subjects that the gods are the givers, and preservers of all good things to mortal men : And the other, Justice ; from which he shewed them, that the possessors even of those advantages the gods bestow, derive an honest enjoyment of them.

LXIII. But I shall not enter into the detail of every law, and every institution, by which he carried each of these to a great perfection ; as fearing the length of such a discussion ; and, at the same time, not finding it necessary to a Greek history. However, I shall give a summary account of the
prin-

principal things; and of such, as are proper to unfold the whole design of this person, beginning with the regulations, that concern divine worship. Those rites, therefore, which he found established by Romulus, whether supported by customs, or laws, he left untouched, looking upon them all as the best institutions: But, whatever he thought omitted by him, he added; consecrating many places to those gods, who had, hitherto, received no honors; erecting many altars, and temples, and instituting festivals in honor of each; appointing priests to take care of those festivals; and enacting laws concerning purifications, ceremonies, and expiations; and many other rites, and honors, in greater number than are to be found in any other city, either Greek, or Barbarian, even in Those, that value themselves the most upon their piety. He, also, ordered that Romulus himself, as one, who had been above the condition of mortal men, should be honoured, under the name of Quirinus, with a temple, and annual sacrifices: For, while the Romans were yet in doubt, whether the will of heaven, or human treachery had been the cause of his disappearing, a certain person, whose name was Julius, descended from Ascanius, who employed himself in agriculture, and a man of an irreprehensible life, and above the suspicion of telling an untruth for the sake of his private advantage, going into the forum, said, that, as he was coming to town, he saw Romulus departing from the city all armed; and that, drawing near to him, he heard him say these words, “ Julius, acquaint the
 “ Romans with this from me; that, having finished my

“ mortal life ; the genius, to whom I was allotted at my
 “ birth, is conducting me to the gods, and that I am
 “ Quirinus.” Numa, having reduced his whole system of
 religious laws into writing, divided them into eight parts ;
 that being the number of the different classes of religious
 rites.

LXIV. The first division of these holy rites he assigned
 to the thirty Curiones, who, as I said, performed the public
 sacrifices for the members of the curiae. The second, to
 those the Greeks call, *Στεφανηφοροι*, *Crown-bearers*, and the
 Romans, *Flamines* ; to whom, from their wearing caps, and
 veils, which they wear to this day, and call them, ¹²⁷ *Flam-*
mea, they give the name beforementioned. The third, to
 the commanders of the Celeres, who, serving in the quality
 both of horse, and foot, composed, as I said, the king’s
 guard : For these, also, performed certain appointed rites.
 The fourth, to the interpreters of heavenly signs, whose
 province it is to determine what they portend, both to

¹²⁷ Φλαμμεα. This, I dare say, is
 the true reading ; because *flammeum*
 was the name of the *flame-coloured* veil
 worn both by the *Flamines*, and brides.
¹ Varro, like our author, derives the
 name of *flamen*, from this veil ; *quod*
in Latio capite velato erant semper. The
πίλος, here said to have been worn by
 the *flamines*, was called, in Latin, *a-*
pex. ^m Lucan, in speaking of the pro-
 cession, performed by the several priests
 at Rome by the direction of Aruns, to
 expiate the horrid omens, that por-

tended the civil war between Pompey,
 and Caesar, when he comes to the
flamines, says,

Et tollens apicem generoso vertice flamen.

These *apices* were in shape very like
 a mitre. If St. Peter was ever at
 Rome, he must have seen these mitres
 upon the heads of the *flamines* ; which
 was, no doubt, a good reason for him,
 and might have been a good reason
 for his successors, never to wear one.

¹ L. iv. De Ling. Lat.

^m B. i. v. 604.

private persons, and to the public ; whom, from one branch of the speculations belonging to their art, the Romans call *Augures* ; and we should call them, *Οἰωνοπολῆς*, *Soothsayers by the means of birds* : These are skilled in all sorts of divination in use among them ; whether founded on signs appearing in the heavens, the air, or on the earth. The fifth, he assigned to the virgins, who are the guardians of the holy fire, and who are called by them, from the goddess they serve, *Vestals* ; Numa being the first person, who built a temple at Rome to Vesta, and appointed virgins to be her priestesses : Concerning whom my subject requires that I should give an account, which shall be short, and contain, only, such things, as are most necessary to be known : For this matter deserves an inquiry, and many Roman historians have thought it worthy to be inquired into in this place ; but those authors, who have not, diligently, examined the causes of this institution, have published trifling accounts concerning it.

LXV. Some ascribe the building of this temple to Romulus, looking upon it as a thing not to be imagined that a public temple of Vesta should not, at first, be built in a city, founded by a man skilled in divination, particularly, since the founder had been brought up at Alba, where there was an ancient temple of this goddess, and that his mother had been her priestess : They add, that religious worship being of two sorts, the first public, and common to all the citizens ; and the other, private, and appropriated to particular families, Romulus was, on both these accounts, under a
neces-

necessity of worshipping this goddess: For they say, that nothing is more necessary to men than a public temple of Vesta; nor any thing more nearly concerning Romulus, as the heir of his family, he being descended from those, who brought the worship of this goddess from Ilium, and his mother having been her priestess. Those, therefore, who, for these reasons, ascribe the building of this temple to Romulus, rather than to Numa, seem, in general, to have reason to say that, when the city was building, a temple of Vesta ought, first of all, to have been erected; particularly, by a man, not unskilled in religious knowledge. But, as to these particulars, which relate to the building of the present temple, and to the virgins, who are the priestesses of this goddess, they seem to have been ignorant. For neither did Romulus consecrate to the goddess this place, where the holy fire is preserved; of which this is a strong proof, that it is without the city of Rome, called four square, which he surrounded with a wall; whereas, all men place the common temple of Vesta in the best part of the city, but none without the walls: Neither did he appoint the service of the goddess to be performed by virgins; remembering, in my opinion, the adventure, that befel his mother, who, while she was serving the goddess, lost her virginity; as if he was sensible that the remembrance of this domestic misfortune would render him an improper person to punish, according to the laws of his country, any of the priestesses he should find to have been deflowered. For this reason, therefore, he did neither build a common temple to Vesta,
nor

nor appoint virgins to be her priestesses: But, having erected a temple for each of the thirty curiae, in which the members of it sacrificed, he appointed the chiefs of the curiae to be the priests of those temples; in which, he imitated the customs of the Greeks, that are still observed in the most ancient cities: For their *Πρύτανεια* are temples, which are served by the chief magistrates of the cities.

LXVI. Numa, after his accession to the government, did not remove the particular temples belonging to the curiae, but erected one temple common to them all, between the Capitoline, and Pallantine hills: For both these hills had, already, been encompassed with one wall; the forum, in which this temple was built, lying between them: He, also, enacted, that the keeping of the holy things, according to the custom established among the Latines, should be committed to virgins. There is some doubt what it is, that is kept in this temple; and, for what reason, the care of it is given to virgins: Some affirming that nothing is preserved there but the fire, which is visible to all the world; and they, very reasonably, make the custody of it to be committed to virgins, rather than to men; because fire being incorrupt, and a virgin undefiled, the chafest of all mortal things must be agreeable to the purest of those, that are divine: And they look upon the fire to be consecrated to Vesta; because that goddess being the earth, and ¹²⁸ placed in the

¹²⁸. ΟΤΙ γῆ τε γὰρ ἡ θεός, καὶ τὸν μέσον
καλεχθεῖσα τὰ κοσμοῦ τόπον. I cannot con-
ceive how le Jay could find any reason
to conclude from this passage that

Copernicus was not the author of his
system, which, he says, was known
long before him in Italy. It is plain
that the system, here spoken of, which
center

center of the universe, she lights up those fiery meteors, that are seen in the air. However, some say that, besides the fire, there are some holy things in the temple of this goddess, which are kept secret from the vulgar, and, with which, both the priests, and the virgins are acquainted: This they support with no small probability, by what happened at the burning of the temple, during the first Punic war between the Romans, and the Carthaginians concerning Sicily: For the temple being on fire, and the virgins flying from it, one of the pontifs, Lucius Caecilius, called Metellus, a consular person, the same, who adorned, with a hundred and thirty eight captive elephants, that memorable triumph, with which he had been honoured for having defeated the Carthaginians in Sicily, neglecting his own safety for the sake of the public good, ventured to force his way through the flames; and, snatching up the holy things, which the virgins had abandoned, saved them from the fire: For which, he received great honors from his fellow-citizens; as the inscription upon his statue in the capitol testifies. Upon the founda-

places the earth in the center of our planets, was, afterwards, embraced by Ptolemy, not by Copernicus, who places the sun there. There is no doubt but the opinion, presently, mentioned, that fiery meteors are produced by the exhalations of the earth is very philosophical; much more so than That of Aristotle, who attributes the birth of comets to those exhalations, *την εκ της ξηρας αναθυμιασεως διαπυρον συσασιν*. And here I cannot

help taking notice of an opinion concerning comets, ascribed by ⁿ Plutarch to the Pythagoreans, which the great Sir Isaac Newton has adopted. These philosophers, he says, held that comets were stars, or planets, that did not appear always, but periodically, and at stated times. *Των απο Πυθαγορος τινες μεν αστερα φασιν ειναι τον κομηην των εκ αι φαινομενων, δια τινος δε ωρισμενυ χρονυ περιοδικως αναλελλοντων.*

ⁿ Περὶ των τοις φιλοσ. αρεσκ. B. iii. c. 2.

tion of this fact, which is allowed, they build some conjectures of their own: Some affirming that these holy things are part of Those, which were preserved in Samothrace; Dardanus having removed them, out of that island, into the city he himself built; and that Aeneas, when he fled from Troas, brought them, together with the other holy things, into Italy. But others say it is the Palladium, that fell from heaven, the same that was in the possession of the Ilienses, which Aeneas, being acquainted with it, brought into Italy, the Achaians having stolen away the counterfeit: Concerning which, a great deal has been said both by poets, and historians. However, I find, by very many circumstances, that, not only the fire, but some other holy things, unknown to the vulgar, are kept by the virgins: But, what they are, I shall neither give myself leave, curiously, to inquire, nor advise any other person to do so, who is desirous to preserve the religious reverence he owes to the gods.

LXVII. The virgins, who serve the goddesses, were, originally, four; and elected by the kings, according to the laws established by Numa: But, afterwards, from the multiplicity of their functions, their number was encreased to ¹²⁹ six, and has so remained to this day: They live in the temple of the goddesses, into which none are hindered from entering in the day time; but it is not lawful for any man

¹²⁹ Eḡ. These nuns, who have multiplied so much since, never exceeded the number of six to the time of their abolition by Theodosius, who, it is well known, drove these priestesses, and all the heathen priests out of their

temples. The reason I have to think their number was never encreased beyond six is drawn from a medal of Faustina the younger, and Julia, the wife of Severus, in which, no more than six vestals are represented.

to remain there in the night: They are under a necessity of continuing unmarried during the space of thirty years; which time they employ in offering sacrifices, and performing other rites, ordained by the law: During the first ten years, their duty was to learn their functions; in the second ten, to perform them; and, during the remainder of their time, to teach others. After the expiration of the term of thirty years, nothing hindered such as desired it from marrying, upon quitting their ¹³⁰ veils, and the other ensigns of their priesthood: And some, though very few, have done this, the end of whose lives has not been so very happy, as to tempt others to imitate them: So that, the rest, looking upon their calamities as ominous, remain virgins in the temple of the goddess till their death; and, then, the pontifs, again, ¹³¹ chuse another to supply the vacancy.

¹³⁰ Στεμμαῖα. I have translated these, *Veils*; because the vestals, really, wore veils, called in Latin, *suffibula*, which are thus described by Festus: *Suffibulum est vestimentum album, prae-textum, quadrangulum, oblongum, quod in capite virgines vestales, cum sacrificant, semper habere solent; idque fibulâ comprehenditur.* Almost all nuns wear these, or something, very nearly, answering this description. ° Gellius quotes Antistius Labéo, a man of great learning, in the time of Augustus, for many particulars relating to the vestals; among the rest, that they could not be admitted under six, nor above ten years of age. I imagine, because it was necessary they should be virgins.

¹³¹ Αποδεικνύει. *Capitur* was the

° B. i. c. 12. † Id. ib.

term appropriated to this election, which was performed in the following manner: † The pontifex maximus chose twenty virgins, who, in an assembly of the people, drew lots which of them should succeed the deceased vestal; and the virgin, upon whom the lot fell, was *taken* by the pontifex maximus, *capiebatur*. Among the other honors enjoyed by the vestals, each had a lictor to attend her, when she went out; one of them having been insulted, as she was going home. This honor, and security they received in the triumvirate of Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus. ‡ Ταῖς τε ἀειπαρθενοῖς (ἐδωκαν) ῥαβδᾶς ἑνὶ ἑκάσῃ χερσὶ θάψαι· ὅτι τις αὐτῶν ἀπο δειπνῆς πρὸς ἐσπεραν σικαδὰ ἐπὰνισσα ἡγνοήθη τε καὶ ὑβρίσθη.

‡ Dion. B. xlviii. p. 385.

They

They receive many distinguishing honors from their country, by which the desire of children, and of marriage is taken away: They are, also, subject to great punishments in case of delinquency; which, by the law, the pontiffs are appointed both to inquire into, and punish: Those vestals, who commit lesser crimes, they whip with rods: But, if they suffer themselves to be debauched, they are delivered up, by the pontiffs, to the most shameful, and the most miserable death. For, while they are yet alive, they are carried upon a bier, with all the formality of a funeral, their friends, and relations attending them with lamentations: Being arrived at the gate, Collina, they are placed in a¹³² subterraneous cell, prepared within the walls, in their

¹³² Εἰς σπήλαιον ὑπο γῆν κατεσκευασμένον. Plutarch, in his life of Numa, says that, in this cave, there was a bed, a burning lamp, a little bread, water, milk, and honey: For which he gives this reason; that they left these small supports of life there, to avoid the abomination of starving a person, who had been consecrated with the greatest formalities. But the Greeks, from whom this notion is supposed to have been derived, looked upon the starving any person, whether consecrated, or not, to bring a curse upon the public: And this is the reason, given by Creon, for a small support of life, to the chorus in Sophocles, when he declares his design of putting to death his niece Antigone in the same manner, for having performed funeral rites to her brother Polynices, contrary to his edict^r.

Ἀγὼν ἐρημὸς ἐνθ' αὖν ἡ βροτῶν σίβος,
Κρυψὼ πείρωδαι ζωσαν ἐν κατωρυχί,

^r In Antigone, v. 784.

Φοβέτης τασχίον ὡς ἀγὼς μόνον προθεῖς,
Ὅπως μίασμα πασ' ὑπεκφυγοί ποτ' ἴσ.

The crime, for which these poor creatures were, so dreadfully, punished, was called *Incest*. Notwithstanding the severity of the punishment, many of the vestals were tried, and found guilty of a crime, which the superstition of their country, not nature, had made so heinous. One instance of this kind I shall mention from^s Livy, because it gives great light to the passage now before us: *Eo anno, Minucia, vestalis—facto judicio, viva sub terram, ad portam Collinam, dextra via strata, defossa Scelerato campo. Credo ab incesto id ei loco nomen factum.* The reader will observe that this place, though called *campus*, was within the walls of the city, ἐν τοῖς τεύχεσσι, as our author says; which is confirmed by the testimony of many other writers.

^s B. viii. c. 15.

Y y 2

funeral

funeral attire, without any sepulchral column, funeral rites, or other customary solemnities. There seem to be many indications of the priestess, who does not perform the holy functions with purity; but the principal is the extinction of the fire, which the Romans dread above all misfortunes, looking upon it, from whatever cause it proceeds, as an omen, that portends the destruction of their city; and ¹³³they bring fire again into the temple with many expiatory rites; but concerning these, I shall speak in a proper place.

LXVII. However, it is, also, well worth relating, in what manner this goddess has manifested herself in favor of

¹³³ Καταγχοι πάλιν εις το ιερον. ^tPlutarch says that, when this fire happened to be extinguished, they held it unlawful to supply it with common fire, but made use of vessels, which had the same effect with burning glasses; and, thus, they procured this new fire from the sun. This is what the emperor ^vJulian calls εξ ήλιου φλογα in his oration in praise of the sun, which he erects into a divinity; which oration is written, like all his works, with great elegance, great learning, and great superstition. And it may well be wondered that a Roman emperor, so bigotted to the most ridiculous tenets of the Pagan system, and, personally, abused by the Christian writers, contented himself with forbidding them to keep open schools: But it seems, he suffered his philosophy, in which he shews himself a great proficient, to influence his conduct, though it could not influence his re-

ligion; and was so far from reviving the dreadful persecutions of his predecessors, that, in a letter to Arfacius, the high priest of Galatia, among other orders relating to his conduct, and to That of the priests under his jurisdiction, he commands him to erect public houses in every city for the reception of strangers of all religions, as well as his own: ^w Ξενοδοχεια καθ' εκαστην πολιν κατασησον πυκνα, ιν' απολαυσωσιν οι ξενοι της παρ' ημων φιλανθρωπιας, & των ημεερων μονον, αλλα και αλλων οσις αν δεηθη χρηματων. It must be observed that the *others*, he speaks of here, who were to have an equal benefit of this charity with the Pagans, must relate to the Christians, and Jews, both which he mentions a few lines after; because there were only three religions professed by the subjects of the Roman empire; that is, Christianity, Paganism, and Judaism.

^t Life of Numa.

^v Oration 4.

^w Epist. 49.

those virgins, who have been, falsely, accused: For these things, however incredible they may be, meet with credit among the Romans; and their histories are full of them. I am sensible that the professors of the atheistical philosophy, if that deserves the name of philosophy, who turn all the manifestations of the gods, which have happened either among the Greeks, or Barbarians, into ridicule, will, also, laugh at these relations, and attribute them to the ¹³⁴ fictions of men; as if none of the gods concern themselves in any thing relating to mankind: However, those, who do not discharge the gods from the care of human affairs; but, after many inquiries, hold that they are favourable to the good, and averse to the wicked, will not look, even, upon these manifestations, as incredible. It is said that, once, the fire being extinguished through some carelessness of Aemilia, who had, then, the care of it, and had intrusted it to another virgin, who was, newly, chosen into their number, and, then, learning her duty; the whole city was in great disorder, and an inquiry made by the pontiffs, whether some defilement of the priestesses might not have occasioned the extinction of the fire. Upon this, they say that Aemilia, who was innocent, but distracted at what had happened, stretched out her hands to the altar, and, in the presence of the priests, and the rest of the virgins, said, “ O Vesta, “ tutelary goddess of this city, if, during the space of near “ thirty years, I have performed the holy functions to thee, “ with holiness and justice, and have preserved a pure mind,

¹³⁴ Αλαζονείαις. Αλαζων, ψευδης. Hesychius.

“ and

“ and a chaste body, appear in my defence, and assist me ;
 “ and do not suffer your priestesses to die the most miserable
 “ of all deaths : But, if I have been guilty of any impiety,
 “ let my punishment expiate the guilt of the city.” Having
 said this, she tore off a piece of the linen garment she had
 on, and threw it upon the altar : After this prayer, they say,
 that, from the ashes, which had been long cold, and re-
 tained no spark of fire, a great flame shone forth through
 the linen ; so that, the city did not stand in need either of
 expiations, or of a new fire.

LXIX. But, what I am going to relate, is still more
 wonderful, and more like a fable. They say that some-
 body, having, falsely, accused one of the virgins, whose
 name was Tucia ; and being unable to object to her the
 extinction of the fire, he supported his accusation by false
 inductions drawn from probable conjectures, and testimonies :
 And that the virgin, being ordered to make her defence,
 said, only, this, that she would clear herself from the ac-
 cusation by her actions ; and, having said this, and called
 upon the goddesses to be her guide, she proceeded to the
 Tiber, the pontiffs consenting, and all the citizens attending
 her : When she came to the river, she was so hardy as to
 undertake a thing, which, of all others, is looked upon as
 impossible, even, to a ¹³⁵ proverb ; and, having taken water
 out of the river in an empty sieve, and carried it as far as

¹³⁵ Το παροιμιαζόμενον. The Greek by * Plato ; κοσκινῷ ὕδαρ φερεῖν, Το
 proverb, here alluded to, is mentioned *carry water in a sieve.*

* Περί πολιτείας. B. ii.

the forum, ſhe poured it out at the feet of the pontifs. After which, they ſay, her accuſer, though great inquiry was made after him, could never be found, either alive, or dead. But, though I have, yet, many things to ſay concerning the manifeſtations of this goddeſs, I look upon what has been, already, ſaid, as ſufficient.

LXX. The ſixth branch of his religious inſtitutions was attributed to Thoſe the Romans call *Salii*, whom Numa himſelf appointed out of the patricians, chuſing twelve young men of the moſt graceful appearance. The holy things, belonging to their order, are depoſited on the Palatine hill, and they themſelves are called *Palatini*: For the *Agonenſes*, by ſome, called the *Collini Salii*, the repository of whoſe holy things is on the Colline hill, were inſtituted after Numa, by Hoſtilius, king of the Romans, in purſuance of a vow he had made in the war againſt the Sabines. All theſe *Salii* are a kind of dancers, and ſingers of hymns, in praiſe of the gods of war. Their feſtival falls out about the time of the Panathenaea, in what they call the month of March, being performed at ¹³⁶ the expence of the city, and

¹³⁶. Εορτή δημοδελής. Here again, the Latin translators have miſſed their followers: Portus has ſaid *à toto populo publice celebrantur*; and le Jay, *que tout le peuple celebre*: Sylburgius, *agiturque publice*, and M. ***, *elle ſe fait publiquement*. But the miſfortune is, that none of theſe verſions, or rather, neither of them, gives the ſenſe of δημοδελής εορτή; which ſignifies *a feſtival performed at the expence of the pub-*

lic; and, according to this ſignification, the word δημοδελής is explained by Heſychius: Δημοδελή ἱερά, εἰς ἃ θυμὰ δίδωσιν ἡ πόλις. This feſtival of the *Ancilia* ſtands in the old Roman calendar on the kalends of March. There were two feſtivals at Athens called Ὑπαναθηναία, one celebrated every year, and the other, every fifth year; theſe were called μεγάλα Παναθηναία.

Ὑ Harpocraton in Παναθηναία.

continues several days; during which, they proceed dancing through the city to the forum, and the capitol, and to many other private, and public places. They wear embroidered vests, on which, are girded ¹³⁷ brazen breast-plates, and, over these vests, are buttoned robes, ¹³⁸ striped with scarlet, and bordered with purple, which they call *Trabeae*: This garment is peculiar to the Romans, and a mark of great honor. On their heads, they wear what they call, *Apices*, which are high caps, contracted into the shape of a cone; which the Greeks call ¹³⁹ Κυρβασιαι, *High-crowned-caps*. They have each of them a sword hanging at their girdle; and, in their right hands, they hold a spear, or a wand, or some such thing; and, in their left, a Thracian

¹³⁷. Χαλκηκας μίλαις. So it must be read with the Vatican manuscript, and not μίλαις, as it stands in all the editions. The sense of μίλαι will be explained by Livy, whose description of the dress of these Salii is, word for word, the same with That given by our ^z author: *Tunicaeque pectus insignitae dedit, et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen*. The Latin translators have rendered μίλαι, in this place, *baltei*, whom le Jay has followed, and called them, *des baudriers*. But it appears from ^a Homer that these belts were different from breast-plates; the lower part of which last was fastened by strings, that went round the middle. Thus Menelaus, after he was wounded by Pandarus, says to his brother Agamemnon,

αλλα παροιθεν
Εἰρυσταλο ζωσηρ τε παναιολος, ηδ' ὑπενερθεν
Ζωματα, κ' ΜΙΤΡΗ, την χαλκηκας καμον ανδρες.

Upon which occasion, μίλαι is thus described by the Greek scholiast; χαλκη λειπίς, ἣν ζωννύνται περι του κενεωνα χαριν πλειονος ασφαλειας. M. *** has translated the word with great propriety; *une plaque de cuivre sur la poitrine*.

¹³⁸. Φοινικοπαρυφας. Portus, and Sylburgius are of opinion that this word is superfluous; in which, I differ from them; and think that, if it was thrown out, we shall have the description of the *toga praetexta*, not of the *trabea*: The difference between which I imagine to have been the scarlet stripes, signified by φοινικοπαρυφας.

¹³⁹. Κυρβασια, ορθη τιαρα. Ταυτη δε οι Περσων βασιλεις μονον εχρωντο. Hesychius.

^z B. i. c. 20.

^a Iliad. Δ. γ'. 185.

buckler, which resembles a target, shaped like ¹⁴⁰a lozenge, and scalloped between the points; such as those are said to carry who, among the Greeks, perform the holy functions belonging to the Curetes: And, in my opinion, the Salii, if the word is translated into Greek, are Curetes; whom, because they are Κῆρροι, *Young-men*, we call, by that name, from their age: And the Romans call them Salii, from their violent motion: For, what we call Εξαλλεσθαι, and Πηδαν, *to leap, and dance*, is, by them, called, *Salire*: And, for the same reason, they call all other dancers, *Saltatores*, because their dancing, also, is attended with frequent springing, and, derive their name from the Salii: But, whether I have given them this appellation with propriety, or not, any one, who pleases, may gather from their actions: For, in the motions they perform in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes, they move all together, sometimes by turns; and, in dancing, sing certain hymns, after the manner of their country. Now, this dance, and motion, performed by armed men, with the noise they make by striking their bucklers with daggers, if we may draw any conjectures from ancient accounts, were instituted by the Curetes. I need not mention the fable, which is related concerning them, since almost every one is acquainted with it.

¹⁴⁰ Ρομβοειδαι. This is from the Vatican manuscript; and is, no doubt, the true reading. ^bVirgil, in speaking of Penthiselea, says,

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis.

From this epithet *lunatis*, and the description of these bucklers by our author, I am apt to believe they resembled two crescents placed back to back.

^b Aen. B. i. §. 490.

LXXI. Among the bucklers, which both the Salii, and some of their servants carry hanging by their ¹⁴¹ handles, being very many in number, they say, there is one, that fell from heaven ; and that it was found in the palace of Numa, no one having brought it thither ; nor any buckler of that make having, ever before, been known among the Italians : That, from both these reasons, the Romans concluded this buckler was sent by the gods ; and that Numa, being desirous to have it carried through the city, with respect, by the most distinguished young men on holy days, and honoured with annual sacrifices ; but, at the same time, apprehensive both of the contrivances of his enemies, and of its being stolen away, he caused many other bucklers to be made resembling That, which fell from heaven, one Mamorius, an artificer, having undertaken the work ; so that, the shape of the buckler, which was sent by the gods, was, by the exact similitude of human workmanship, rendered indiscernible, and difficult to be distinguished by those, who might have a design, fraudently, to possess themselves of it. That this dance, after the manner of the Curetes,

¹⁴¹ Ηδημενας απο κανονων. All the four translators agree in rendering κανονες, *bacilli*, *conti*, *baguettes*, *perche* ; whereas, the word signifies the *handles* of a shield. And, here again, I shall support my translation by the authority of ^cHomer, who makes Hector give this account of Nestor's shield,

ΑΣΠΙΔΑ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΕΗΝ, ΤΗΣ ΝΥΝ ΚΛΕΟΣ ΘΕΑΙΟΝ ΙΜΕΙ,
ΠΑΣΑΙ ΧΡΥΣΕΙΗΝ ΕΜΕΝΑΙ, ΚΑΝΟΝΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΛΗΝ.

And thus the word κανονες is explained by the Greek scholiast ; ῥαβδος αἰς ἐκράβην τας ἀσπίδας. To these handles was fastened a thong, by which they hung up their shields in their tents, or slung them cross their shoulders in a march ; which is confirmed by Hesychius, who explains κανονες in this manner, αἱ τῆς ἀσπίδος ῥαβδοι, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ τελαμὼν ἐξηπλο.

^c Iliad. θ. ῥ. 193.

was customary among the Romans, and held in great honor by them, I gather from many things ; but, chiefly, from what is practised by them in their processions both in the circus, and in the theatres : For, in all of them, young men, clad in handfom vests, with helmets, fwords, and ¹⁴² bucklers, march in time : These are the leaders of the procession, and are called, by them, from a game, of which the Lydians seem to be the inventors, *Ludiones*, representing, in my opinion, the Salii : Since they do not imitate the Curetes, in any thing, as the Salii do, either in their hymns, or dances : And it was necessary that the Salii should be free men, and natives of the country, and that both their fathers, and mothers should be living ; whereas the others are of any condition. But to what purpose should I say any more of them ?

LXXII. The seventh part of his religious institutions was allotted to the college of the *Feciales* : These may be called, in Greek, *Ειρηνοδίκαι*, *Judges in matters relating to peace* : They are chosen out of the best families, and exercise their holy office during life ; Numa being the first, who instituted this holy magistracy, also, among the Romans : But, whether he took the example from those, called the ¹⁴³ *Aequicoli*, according to the opinion of some ; or from

¹⁴² Παρμας έχοντες. M. *** has, in his preface, deservedly, censured le Jay for copying even the faults of the printer, who printed the translation of Portus, in which it stands *Palmas gestantes*, instead of *Parmas* : This error le Jay has, servilely, copied, and said,

des Palmes à la main. Had he cast his eye on the Greek text, which, I dare say, he never did, he could not, possibly, have fallen into this ridiculous error.

¹⁴³ Αικικλων. This correction is owing to ^d Cluver, who has, plainly,

^d Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 16.

the city of the Ardeates, as Gellius writes, I cannot say : It is sufficient for me to give notice that, before Numa's reign, the college of the Feciales was not in being among the Romans. It was instituted by Numa, when he was upon the point of making war with the Fidenates, who had made incursions into, and ravaged, his territories, in order to try, whether they would come to an accommodation with him without entering into a war, which, being under a necessity, they submitted to. But, since the college of the Feciales is not in use among the Greeks, it is incumbent on me to relate how many, and how great affairs fall under its jurisdiction ; to the end that those, who are unacquainted with the piety of the men of those times, may not be surprised to find that the event of all their wars, was most successful : For it will appear that the springs, and motives of them all were most pious ; and, for this reason, chiefly, the gods were propitious to them in all the dangers, that attended them. The multiplicity of the affairs, that fall within the province of these Feciales, makes it no easy matter to enumerate them all ; but the substance of them is, as follows : To take care that the Romans do not enter into an unjust war against any confederate city : And, if others begin the violation of their treaties, to go as ambassadors, and demand justice, in the first place ; but, if they refuse to comply with

shewn that these were the people, called by the Roman authors, *Aequicoli*. They lived on both sides of the Anio. And^e Livy, though he ascribes the institution of the *Feciales* to Ancus Mar-

cus, derives their origin from the *Aequicoli* ; *Jus ab antiquâ gente Aequiculis, quod nunc Feciales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur.*

^e B. i. c. 32.

their demands, then, to give their sanction to the war. In like manner, if any, in alliance with the Romans, complain of having been injured by them, and demand justice, these men are to inquire whether they have suffered any thing in violation of their alliance; and, if they find their complaints well grounded, to seize the guilty, and deliver them up to the sufferers. They are, also, to take cognizance of the crimes committed against ambassadors; to take care that treaties are, religiously, observed; to make peace; and, if they find it entered into, contrary to the holy laws, to set it aside; to inquire into, and expiate, the transgressions of the generals, as far as they relate to oaths, and treaties, concerning which I shall speak in a proper place. As to the function they perform in quality of heralds, when they go to demand justice of any city thought to have injured the Romans (for these things, also, are worthy of our knowledge; being transacted with great regard both to religion, and justice) I have received the following account. One of these *Feciales*, chosen by his colleagues, being clad in his robes, and bearing the ensigns of his holy dignity to distinguish him from others, proceeds towards the city, whose inhabitants have done the injury; and, standing on the confines, calls upon Jupiter, and the rest of the gods to witness that he is come to ¹⁴⁴ demand justice on the behalf of the Ro-

¹⁴⁴ ΟΤΙ ΔΙΚΑΣ ΑΙΛΩΝ. The form of are all set forth by ^f Livy in the very demanding justice by the *Fecialis*, together with his protestation, in case of refusal, and the declaration of war, him: *Audi, Jupiter, inquit, audite, fines*, (cujusque gentis sunt, nominat)

^f B. i. c. 32.

mans: After which, he takes an oath that he is going to a city, that has done an injury; and, having made the most dreadful imprecations against himself, and his country, if, what he averred was not true; he then, enters their confines: Afterwards, he calls to witness the first man he meets, whether he was an inhabitant of the country, or of the city; and, having repeated the same imprecations, he advances towards the latter; and, before he enters it, he calls the keeper of the gate, or the first person he finds there to witness, in the same manner: Upon which, he proceeds to the market-place; and, being there, he informs the magistrates of the reasons of his coming, adding, every where, the same oaths, and imprecations. If they are disposed to make satisfaction by delivering up the guilty, he leads them away, and returns as from friends, he himself being now their friend: If they desire time to deliberate, he allows them ten days,

audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuncius populi Romani, juste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit. Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit: Si ego injuste impieque illos homines, illasque res dedier nuncio populi Romani mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me nunquam siris esse. Then, if justice is refused, after three and thirty days, he makes this protestation; Audi, Jupiter, et Tu Juno; Quirine, Diique omnes caelestes, Vosque terrestres, Vosque inferni, audite. Ego vos testor, populum illum (quicumque est, nominat) injustum esse, neque jus persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patriâ majores natu consulemus, quo pacto jus nostrum adipiscamur. After that, if the Roman people resolved upon the

war, and the senate gave their consent, the *Fecialis* returned to the frontiers of the people, against whom the war had been decreed; and, carrying a spear in his hand pointed with iron, or stained with blood, and burnt at the head, he declared war against them in the following words, after reciting the resolution of the people, and senate, *Ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populo hominibusque* (naming them) *bellum indico facioque.* Having said this, he threw the spear within their frontiers. M.***, very well, observes, that Livy, in computing thirty three days, includes the three days employed in demanding justice, and declaring war.

after

after which he returns, and waits till they have asked this three times : But, after the expiration of the thirty days, if the city still persists in refusing to do him justice, he calls both the celestial and infernal gods to witness, and goes away, saying no more than this, that the Romans will deliberate concerning them at their leisure. After his return to Rome, he, together with the rest of the *Feciales*, make their report to the senate, that they had done every thing, that was ordained by the holy laws ; and, if they thought proper to resolve upon a war, there was no obstacle on the part of the gods. But, if any of these things were omitted, neither the senate, nor the people had the power of resolving upon a war. This, therefore, is the account we have received concerning the *Feciales*.

LXXIII. The last branch of the religious institutions of Numa was That, which related to those, who are invested with the chief pontificate, and greatest power among the Romans. These, from one of their duties, which concerns the reparation of the wooden bridge, are, in their language, called ¹⁴⁵ *Pontifices* : Affairs of the greatest moment are subject to their jurisdiction. For they are the judges in all

¹⁴⁵ Ποντῖφες. ^g Varro gives the same etymology of this word with our author ; and their authority ought to have screened this etymology from the ridicule, with which Plutarch treats it ; though, at the same time, he owns that it was received by the generality of the Romans. However, this is certain, that they could not be called

pontifices at the time of their institution ; because, the *pons Sublicius*, from the repairing of which they derived their name, was built by Ancus Marcius, the second king after Numa, as we find by ^h our author, and ⁱ Livy. So that, after this bridge was built, and the care of it became one of their functions, they were called *Pontifices*.

^g De Ling. Lat. B. iv.

^h B. iii. c. 45.

ⁱ B. i. c. 33.

religious causes, wherein private men, magistrates, or the ministers of the gods are concerned: They enact laws relating to religion, where there are none either written, or supported by custom; and, where there are laws, and customs, they adopt such, as they think most proper to be observed: They inquire into the conduct of all magistrates, to whom the performance of any sacrifices, or any service of the gods is committed; and, also, into That of all the priests: They take care that their servants, and ministers, whom they make use of in religious matters, do nothing in violation of the holy laws: They are the teachers, and interpreters of every thing relating to the worship of the gods, and genius's, to private persons, who are unacquainted with it; and, if they find that any disobey their orders, they inflict a punishment on them proportionable to every offence: They are also, exempt from all judgement, and punishment; neither are they accountable to the senate, or the people. Concerning, therefore, these priests, if any one will call them *ἱεροδιδασκαλῆς*, *the Teachers*, *ἱερονομῆς*, *the Ministers*, *ἱεροφυλακῆς*, *the Guardians*, or, as we call them, *ἱεροφάνῆς*, *the interpreters of holy things*, he will not deviate from the truth. When any one of them dies, another is appointed in his place; who is ¹⁴⁶ not elected by the people, but by

¹⁴⁶. Οὐχ' ὑπο τῶν δῆμος αἰρεθεις. By the Domitian law, the Pontifices were chosen by the people. This law was brought in by Cn. Domitius, then, one of the tribunes, and passed in the 651st year of the city, Caius Marius

for the third time, and Lucius Aurelius being consuls. This ^k Velleius Paterculus, positively, asserts; *quo Anno Cneius Domitius, tribunus plebis, legem tulit, ut sacerdotes, quos antea collegae sufficiebant, populus crearet.*

^k B. ii. c. 12.

the pontifices themselves, who chuse the person they think the best qualified among their fellow-citizens. Being, thus, approved of, he receives the priesthood, provided the auguries are favourable to him. These, not to speak of others less considerable, are the greatest, and the most remarkable laws, enacted by Numa concerning divine worship, and divided by him according to the different branches of his religious institutions, by which the city encreased in piety.

LXXIV. Among the many regulations of Numa, tending to inspire frugality, and temperance, and to establish a love of justice, the guardian of concord, some are comprehended in written laws, others unwritten, and preserved by custom, and long usage: To treat of all which would be a work of great difficulty: I shall, therefore, mention only two of them, which have been the most extolled, and which will be sufficient for any one to form a judgement of the rest. The law, that appoints boundaries to every man's possession, renders the people content with their own, and hinders them from coveting what belongs to others: For, having ordered every one to circumscribe his own possession, and to place stones on the bounds, he consecrated these stones to *Jupiter Terminalis*; and appointed all to assemble at the

This law was enacted about ninety four years before our author published his history; and how he came to be unacquainted with it I cannot understand; unless it may be said that, in speaking of the laws instituted by Numa, he thought it sufficient to treat of them in the form, in which they were enacted by him: This, to me, seems much

more probable than that he should be uninformed in any point of the Roman history, with which any of us are acquainted. What could possess le Jay to translate so plain a passage, in this absurd manner, *on le choisit, non parmi le peuple, mais parmi ce qu'il y a de plus considerables citoyens?*

place, every year, on a certain day, and offer sacrifices to them; instituting a solemn festival, also, in honor to the gods, who preside over these boundaries: This festival the Romans call ¹⁴⁷ *Terminalia* from *Τερμινες*, *Bounds*, and the bounds themselves, by the change of one letter, in imitation of our language, they call *Termine*s. He, also, enacted, that, if any person demolished, or displaced these bound-stones, he should be looked upon as devoted to this god, to the end that any one might kill him, as a sacrilegious person, with impunity, and without being defiled with guilt. This law did, not only, take place in private possessions, but, even, in Those belonging to the public: For he circumscribed these, also, with boundaries, to the intent that the Terminal gods might separate the lands of the Romans from Those of their neighbours, and the public lands from such, as belonged to private persons. This custom is observed by the Romans to this day, as a monument of past ages, and a point of religion: For they look upon these bound-stones as gods, and sacrifice to them still, offering up no kind of

¹⁴⁷ *Τερμιναλια*. This festival was celebrated by the Romans on the seventh of the kalends of March, the twenty third of February. From the description, given by ^k Ovid of this festival, it appears that this Pagan divinity was, generally, nothing else but a stone, or a post, placed on the boundaries,

*Termine, sive lapis, sive es defossus in agro
Stipes, ab antiquis, sic quoque nomen habes.*

These *ancients* were the Greeks, among whom *Τερμινες*, as our author says, signifies the same thing with *termen*, which was, visibly, derived from it: For we find by ^l Varro, that the old Romans used the word *termen* instead of *terminus*; *Apud Accium, non terminus dicitur, sed termen*. But, to preserve the analogy between the two languages, here alluded to, *termen* must be of the masculine gender.

^k Fastorum, B. ii. §. 641.

^l De Ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 4.

animal (for it is irreligious to stain these stones with blood) but cakes made with flour, and other first-fruits of the earth: But they ought still to observe the motive itself, in consideration of which it was ordered that these bound-stones should be called gods, and content themselves with their own possessions, without invading Those of others, either by violence, or fraud: Whereas, now, there are some, who without consulting their duty, or the example of their ancestors, instead of separating their own possessions from Those of others, make their desire of every thing, not the law, the boundary of their possessions; which reflects great dishonor on them. But we leave these considerations to others.

LXXV. By these laws, Numa formed the city to frugality, and temperance: Justice in contracts he introduced by inventing a regulation, which was unknown to all, who instituted the most celebrated commonwealths: For, observing that contracts, made in public, and before witnesses, are, from a regard to the persons present, generally, performed, and that few are guilty of any violation of them; but that those, which are transacted without witnesses, being many more in number than the former, rest on no other security than the faith of the contractors, he thought it incumbent on him to make this faith the chief object of his care, and to render it worthy of divine worship. For he found that Justitia, Themis, Nemesis, and Those the Greeks call Erinnyes, with others of that kind, had been, sufficiently, honoured by the ancients, in being erected into divinities,

and consecrated; but that Faith, than which there is no greater, nor more sacred virtue among men, was not yet worshiped, either by states in their public capacity, or by private persons: Having considered these things, he, first of all men, erected a temple to public Faith, and instituted sacrifices to be performed to her, at the public expence, in the same manner as to the rest of the gods. By this means, the public faith of the city, which was preserved inviolate to all men, could not fail, in time, to communicate the same fidelity to the behaviour of private men: And, indeed, so sacred, and inviolable a thing was faith in their estimation, that the greatest oath a man could take was, By his own faith; and more depended upon than any other testimony: And, if there happened any contest between two persons concerning the performance of a contract entered into without witnesses, the faith of either of the parties was sufficient to decide the controversy, and not suffer it to proceed any further: And the magistrates, and courts of justice founded their decrees, in most causes, on the oaths of the parties attesting by their faith. These regulations, then invented by Numa, which persuaded to temperance, and enforced justice, rendered the city of Rome more orderly than the best regulated family.

LXXVI. Those I am going to relate, rendered it both careful to provide itself with necessaries, and industrious to acquire the advantages, that flow from labor: For this person, considering that a city, formed to the love of justice, and to habitual temperance, ought to abound with all things
necessary

neceſſary to the ſupport of life, divided the whole country into what they call Pagi, *Villages* ; and over each of theſe villages he appointed a magiſtrate, whoſe duty it was to inſpect, and viſit the lands lying in his own diviſion : Theſe, going their rounds frequently, took an account in writing of the lands, that were well, and ill cultivated, and laid it before the king ; who repaid the diligence of the careful huſbandmen with commendations, and favor ; and, by reprimanding, and fining the ſlothful, excited them to cultivate their lands with greater attention : By which means, the people, being freed from wars, and exempt from any attendance on the affairs of the city ; and, at the ſame time, diſgraced, and puniſhed, for idleneſs, and ſloth, became all laborious huſbandmen, and looked upon the riches, which the earth yields, and which, of all others, are the moſt innocent, as more agreeable than the precarious affluence of a military life : And, by the ſame means, Numa became the darling of his ſubjects, the example of his neighbours, and the theme of poſterity. It was owing to him, that, neither civil diſſenſion broke the harmony of the city, nor foreign war interrupted the obſervance of theſe wiſe, and admirable inſtitutions : For their neighbours were ſo far from looking upon the peaceful tranquillity of the Romans, as an opportunity of invading them, that, if, at any time, they were at war with one another, they choſe the Romans for mediators, and were willing to put an end to their conteſts under the arbitration of Numa. I ſhould, therefore, make no difficulty in placing this perſon among the firſt of thoſe,
who

who are the most celebrated for their happiness: For he was of a royal family, had a majestic aspect, and cultivated that kind of literature, which, instead of useless eloquence, formed his mind to piety, and every other virtue: When he was young, he was thought worthy to be king of the Romans, who, upon the reputation of his virtue, invited him to that dignity, which he exercised, during his whole life, over an obedient people. He lived to be very old, without any infirmity, or misfortune, and died the easiest of all deaths, being worn out with age; the genius, who had been allotted to him from his birth, having continued the same favor to him till he was no more. He lived above fourscore years, and reigned forty three; leaving behind him, according to most historians, four sons, and one daughter, whose posterity remain to this day; but, according to Cneius Gellius, only one daughter, who was the mother of Ancus Marcius, the third king of the Romans after him. His death was, exceedingly, lamented by the city, who made a most splendid ¹⁴⁸ funeral for him: He lies buried upon

¹⁴⁸. Ταφαι. Here again, the translators are ranged in their usual order: Portus was resolved to give the sense of this word; and, for that reason, he has rendered it both a funeral, and a monument, *funere splendidissimo, et monumento maxime insigni decoravit*; le Jay scorned to do less honor to Numa, than his guide, and has said, word for word, *on lui fit de superbes funerailles, et l'on dressa à sa memoire un magnifique tombeau*. Sylburgius is more modest,

and contents himself with the monument, *insigni monumento decoravit civitas*; and M. *** has copied his modesty in copying his words, *on lui érigea un superbe tombeau*. Now, I cannot agree with Sylburgius (for his translator is not concerned in the text) that ταφαι signifies a monument, for which the Greek word is ταφος. This will be seen by ^m Julius Pollux, a writer of great authority, and of great use, who gives us every thing relating

^m B. viii. c. 14.

the Janiculum, on the other side of the Tiber. And this is the account we have received concerning Numa Pompilius.

to funeral honors in their proper order. that ταφαι should signify a monument, Περιθειπνον, ταφη, ενταφια, μνημα, ταφος, he would have said κειναι, instead of χωμα, σηλη. Here, ταφη precedes ταφος, κειναι, which can relate only to the and is, plainly, distinguished from it. body of Numa. Besides, if our author had designed

The end of the second book.

THE

A
F R A G M E N T

Out of the

S I X T H - B O O K

O F

P O L Y B I U S,

Containing a Dissertation upon GOVERNMENT in general, particularly applied to that of the Romans, together with a Description of the several Powers of the CONSULS, SENATE, and PEOPLE of Rome,

Translated from the Greek with Notes.

To which is prefixed a Preface, wherein the System of POLYBIUS is applied to the Government of *England*: And, to the above-mentioned Fragment concerning the Powers of the Senate, is annexed a Dissertation upon the Constitution of it.

Ita demum liberam Civitatem fore—si sua quisque jura ordo, suam Majestatem teneat.
Liv. B. iii. c. 63.

Αρχειν και αρχεσθαι.

THE translation of this fragment of *Polybius* with the preface, and the dissertation on the *Roman* senate annexed to the translation, was published by me in 1743; which I mention to the end that, if the reader finds the same quotations, and the same consequences drawn from them in Dr. *Middleton's Treatise on the Roman Senate*, and Dr. *Chapman's Essay*, both on the same subject, and both published several years after mine, he may acquit me of plagiarism. I had, then, my reasons for not putting my name to the book, though my bookseller thought fit to affix my name, or something like my name, to what he called a second edition, without my knowledge, and to add to it a most impertinent title-page of his own.

I have inserted this little book, which has been many years out of print, in my translation of *Dionysius*, because I look upon it that the description of the several powers of the consuls, senate, and people of *Rome*, given by so great an author as *Polybius*, will very much tend to explain, and confirm many passages in this history.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

Several considerations led me to lay before the public a translation of the following fragment of POLYBIUS: The principal of which was, the very great satisfaction I received, as an Englishman, in finding the whole reasoning of that excellent author as applicable to our own constitution, as to That, for which it was intended.

*The great advantages flowing from the happy temper, and equal mixture of the three orders, for which he so justly celebrates the Roman government, are all to be found in our own; with this circumstance in our favor, that our situation, as an island, forbids us either to fear, or aim at, conquests; by the gaining, as well as the suffering of which, that political harmony is in danger of being destroyed. By the spoils of conquered nations Cæsar was enabled to corrupt the Roman people, and bribe them to be the instruments of their own ruin, by erecting an absolute monarchy in his favor; which, growing, afterwards, wanton for want of a check from the other two orders, and weak for want of their assistance, became, at last, a prey to
a bar-*

a barbarous invader, often vanquished, and always despised, while the ballance of all three was preserved.

If my countrymen will attentively consider every argument, made use of by POLYBIUS, to shew the excellence of a government founded on an equal mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, they will, I dare say, have the same satisfaction I enjoyed; that is, they will find the system of policy, laid down by that great man, in the following dissertation on the constitution of the Romans, to be a description of the advantages enjoyed under That of England.

I would not be thought to say this in flattery to the government, under which I was born, and hope to pass the remainder of my life; not only my own reason, but, what is of much greater weight, even to myself, the authority of the greatest men of antiquity, convinces me that a government mixed like Those of Sparta, Rome, and England, is, of all others, the easiest, the securest, and the happiest to live under. If any of us are insensible of the blessings we enjoy, I must think it owing to our being accustomed to them. Custom, I know, can both deaden the sense of the greatest misfortunes, and pall the enjoyment of the greatest blessings; and custom may, possibly, make us view that state with indifference, which all other nations look upon with envy. But this indifference is far from being epidemical; the fears, the jealousies of innovations, all pardonable in a free state,
however

however groundless, are to me a proof, beyond contradiction, that we love what we so much fear to lose: and how general must those fears be, when it is popular only to pretend to fear?

In all free governments there ever were, and ever will be, parties: we find that Sparta, Rome, Athens, and all the Greek colonies in Asia Minor had their aristocratical, and democratical parties; while the only contest among the subjects of the kings of Persia was, who should be the greatest slaves. The truth is, different understandings, different educations, and different attachments must necessarily produce different ways of thinking every where; but these will shew themselves in free governments only, because there only they can shew themselves with impunity. However, it was not the existence of the two parties I have mentioned, that destroyed the liberties of any of those cities, but the occasional extinction of one of them, by the superiority the other had gained over it: and, if ever we should be so unhappy as to have the ballance between the three orders destroyed; and that any one of the three should utterly extinguish the other two, the name of a party would, from that moment, be unknown in England, and we should unanimously agree in being slaves to the conqueror.

Parties, therefore, are not only the effect, but the support, of liberty: I do not at all wonder that they are perpetually exclaimed at by Those in power: they may have, sometimes, rea-

son

son to be dissatisfied with the parties themselves, but have much more to be so with the heads of them; for These are properly their rivals: the bulk of the party aims, generally, at no more than a reformation of what they think an abuse of power; the others, at the power itself, without considering the abuse, unless it be to continue it: The party quarrels with things, and the leaders with persons; consequently, a change of measures may appease the first; but nothing less than a change of ministers can satisfy the last. However, in one respect, these leaders often give some ease to ministers without designing it; for, as they generally attack them upon personal, rather than national points, their followers are unconcerned in the contest; and, considering themselves as spectators, rather than parties, do not think it incumbent on them to go great lengths for the choice of ministers; especially, since by the indifference their leaders shew for national points, when they are aiming at power (which is the season for giving hopes, as the gaining it is for disappointing them) their followers have but little reason to expect they will shew a greater warmth for them, when they have attained the possession of it.

But, whatever may be the success of the opposers, the public reaps great benefit from the opposition; since This keeps ministers upon their guard, and, often, prevents them from pursuing bold measures, which an uncontrolled power might, otherwise,

tempt them to ingage in: they must act with caution, as well as fidelity, when they consider the whole nation is attentive to every step they take, and that the errors they may commit, will not only be exposed, but aggravated: in the mean time, a thirst of power, irritated by disappointment, animates the application of the opposers of public affairs, infinitely more than the languid impulse of national considerations: By this means, they grow able statesmen, and when they come to be ministers, are not only capable of defending bad schemes, but, when they please, of forming good ones.

Another great advantage, that accrues to the people from this opposition, is, that each party, by appealing to them upon all occasions, constitutes them judges of every contest; and, indeed, to whom should they appeal, but to those, whose welfare is the design, or pretence, of every measure? And for whose happiness the majesty of kings, the dignity of peers, and the power of the commons were finally instituted. This is, undoubtedly, the end of their institution, and this end it is their glory, as well as duty, to accomplish: For, what greater honor can be done to the three orders, of which our government is so happily composed, than to look upon them as they really are, that is, as the channels, through which ease, plenty, and security are derived to millions of people?

I would

I would not willingly do injustice to persons so useful, at all times, to the public, whatever they may be to themselves, as the heads of an opposing party; but shall mention one point, to which I will appeal, as to a touchstone of their conduct, and, by which, it will evidently appear whether it is influenced by personal, or national, considerations; it is This: There is not, I believe, in Great Britain, a man, who is not convinced, nor a man, not actually in the administration, or not expecting one day to be in it, who will not own, that annual parliaments are an effectual cure for all the evils, that are felt, feared, or complained of: If this is so evident a truth, how comes it to pass that, for this last century, that is, ever since an opposition to a ministry was made the road to a succession in it, that so national a point has been neglected? How comes it to pass, I say, that so many successive oppositions have never, in the warmest season of their contest, taken one step to restore the people to a right confirmed to them by more than one act of parliament (1) and supported by the enjoyment of some hundred years? Are the heirs apparent to ministers to be looked upon as the only persons in the nation, who are unacquainted with the rights of the people? Or the champions of liberty the only persons unconcerned in the defence of it? The truth is, they all

(1) 4 Edw. III. 36 Edw. III.

expect to be, one day, ministers themselves, and are sensible that annual parliaments are so much the ancient right of the people, so obviously conducive, if not essential, to their security, their dignity, and power, that they are afraid any attempt to restore them should prove successful; and, consequently, that, by breaking the peoples chains asunder, in order to distress the ministers, they should forge others for themselves when they come to succeed them. Whenever there has been any attempt to enact, or restore triennial parliaments, it has ever been objected that triennial parliaments would produce triennial ministries; and they are afraid that annual parliaments should also produce annual ministries: Hinc illæ lachrymæ. But I see no reason for these fears; we do not find that, during the long tract of time the people enjoyed annual parliaments, the reign of good ministers was shorter than since they have been deprived of that right: And if, during that period, the reign of bad ministers was so, this becomes an accessional reason for their being restored to it. But, say they, every thing will be so fluctuating under annual parliaments, that no nation will treat with you, no war can be prosecuted with success: Have they then forgotten that the treaties of Bretigny, and Troyes were concluded, and the victories of Crecy, and Azincourt gained, under the auspices of annual parliaments?

It is thought by many people that the septennial act was the severest stab the liberties of the people of England ever received: Indeed the circumstances of the nation at the time of its being enacted, were some justification of it: There had lately been an actual rebellion raised against a prince, who, without flattery, (which is seldom bestowed upon dead princes) wanted nothing to be admired by his subjects, but to be known to them; and who, by a peculiar cast of good qualities, seemed formed by nature to reign over a free people. This rebellion was indeed extinguished, but though the storm was laid, the heaving of the sea continued. However, if these circumstances, while they subsisted, were a reason for enacting that law, now they are removed, they can be none for continuing it. I must, indeed, do one set of men the justice to allow that they have shewn themselves of that opinion, by endeavouring to restore triennial parliaments: But that attempt, if it had succeeded, would have proved a palliative remedy only, not a cure. Have not triennial parliaments been already tried, and found ineffectual? Were not several essential clauses in the act of settlement repealed, the peace of Utrecht confirmed, and the schism act passed by triennial parliaments?

It must be allowed that, in all free governments, the oftener the collective body of the people is resorted to, the oftener they will have legal opportunities of reforming those grievances,
that

that will, from time to time, unavoidably, steal into the legislative, as well as the executive part of every government; and, while they have legal methods of redress, they will never fly to Those, that are not so. This would be the great advantage of annual parliaments: For, to suppose that the representatives of the people will, at all times, be as vigilant to discover, and as zealous to reform, those grievances, or as careful of their conduct in every other respect, when they are independent of their constituents for seven years, as, when they annually depend upon their approbation, is to suppose that hopes, and fears have lost their influence on the minds of men. On the other side, if it should ever happen that the representatives, encouraged by this independence, should, instead of reforming grievances, encrease their number, and become themselves the greatest grievance; the people will, in that case, have no legal remedy, which is, in itself, contrary to the nature of government; it being ridiculous to imagine that the same law, which provides a remedy for every private wrong, should provide none for Those of the public; or, that the whole body of the people, for whose sake the law itself was instituted, should ever find themselves in such circumstances, as to lose the benefit of it. Yet, this must happen, if it be received as a standing maxim of law and justice, that their representatives, when once chosen for any number of years, let their abuse of power be never so glaring,

have still a right to sit out their term, and, what is worse, to extend it as far as the affairs of the nation, or their own may require. If this be admitted, it must also be admitted that no term can, by law, be prescribed to their sitting, because they have still a power, by law, of extending that term, and, consequently, of perpetuating themselves: This, however improbable, must, upon a supposition of the legality of the first extension of the original term, be allowed to be equally legal. From hence it appears how dangerous it is to remove the corner stones of government; and that, whenever they have been removed, either through necessity, or convenience, the first opportunity ought to be laid hold on to restore them to their former situation.

There is something so bewitching in power, that, without very compulsive laws, men are not easily brought to resign it: This tenaciousness of power has filled all histories, both ancient and modern, with attempts made to extend it beyond the term, for which it was originally delegated. Thus, the last Roman decemvirs, though chosen by their country but for a year, prolonged their term by their own act, and retained the power they had usurped, till the people forced it out of their hands, and punished them severely for their usurpation; and their memory stands branded in history (2) with all the infamy it deserves:

(2) Liv. B. iii. Dionys. Hal. B. xi.

While the names of Valerius, and Horatius, under whose conduct the people recovered their right of electing annual magistrates, are celebrated by their historians with all the praises, that gratitude can yield, or merit claim; monuments more lasting than brass, or marble: Those no storms can overturn, no flight of time deface; still are their praises read by applauding nations, who look upon those worthy patriots, as the benefactors, not of their own country only, but of all mankind.

The same attempt met with, I will not say, deserved, a better fate at Venice, (3) where in the year 1298, an act passed in the great council, which, till then, was annually chosen by the people, that all those, of which it was that year composed, or who had been members of it for the four last years, should, upon their obtaining twelve voices in the council of forty, be themselves, and their posterity, ever after, members of it and that all the other citizens should be, for ever, excluded from the administration of public affairs. From this time, the people of Venice, like all others under the like circumstances, have found how dangerous it is to be useless, and that, to have no share in the government, is to be a prey to Those who have.

Many are the expedients gentlemen have been driven to, in order to supply the want of annual parliaments; such as the pension act, the act for disabling those, who have accepted em-

(3) Amelot de la Houssaie. Hist. du Gouvern. de Ven.

ployments, from sitting in the house unless they are re-elected, and some others of the like tendency: All which are, no doubt, very well calculated to answer the ends, for which such bills are generally brought in, that is, to defame the ministry, if they are not passed, and to distress them, if they are. But, I believe, the people have received no great benefit from any of these expedients. In this I am the more confirmed, because the promoters of them are so loud in their complaints of such abuses, as could not, possibly, be committed, if these laws were effectual: Their complaints, therefore, must be looked upon as an acknowledgement that they are not so; and, if these gentlemen persist in applying remedies, which they themselves know to be ineffectual, the nation will have reason to complain in their turn, and to say that they treat them as some physicians treat their patients, that is, they chuse rather to prescribe, than cure. As to the place bill, the people have a right to have That go hand in hand with the bill for annual parliaments; since, among other clauses of Nolumus (4) formerly inserted in the writs of summons, we find the following one, Nolumus autem quod aliquis de retinentia domini nostri regis aliquialiter sit electus.

The people of Rome, Sparta, and Athens were not represented; but appeared in a collective body, whenever any thing was to be laid before them. This method of taking the sense of

(4) Whitelock's Memo. p. 432.

the whole body of the people, upon every occasion, might not be subject to great inconveniences either at Sparta, or Athens, by reason of the small extent of their respective territories, which, though very populous, contained but few inhabitants: But, at Rome, whose dominions were so extensive, and its citizens so numerous, I think it must have been subject to many, particularly, to one of these two; either all the Roman citizens, who were not actually engaged in the service of the commonwealth, must have come from the most distant parts of the world at every meeting of the people, or the whole power must have devolved upon the inhabitants of the city, and neighbourhood of Rome: I own, I have never met with any complaints of either of these inconveniences in any of their authors, and yet the alternative seems unavoidable. For which reason, notwithstanding the great deference, which is undeniably due to the wisdom of their institutions, I cannot help thinking that a representative, under proper regulations, answers all the purposes of the peoples voting in a collective body, and is subject to none of the inconveniences of it. But, to effect this, two things seem to be necessary; the first, that the people be annually represented, to the end they may have, annually, an opportunity of confirming, or reforming their choice; the second is, that they be equally represented; for a people unequally represented, will, of course, be unequally taxed. This is a mischief, which all modern

dern governments are more, or less, subject to, because none of them have been so wise as to follow the example of the Romans, in establishing a general register: This, perhaps, may not be practicable, at least, not adviseable, in a trading country; since credit, which is the life of commerce, and subsists by opinion, would be very much impaired, if not destroyed, by certainty; and, if every man's circumstances were known, a merchant would, no longer, have it in his power, by making use of other peoples fortune, to raise his own, and to grow rich, by being thought so. But, to apply what I have said, in a particular manner, to our own affairs, I will appeal even to those gentlemen, who find their advantage in this national misfortune, I mean the inequality of the land tax, whether it has not, in a great measure, been the occasion of this immense load of debts, under which we, at present, labour; I think it past dispute that this inequality has contributed to it more ways than one; in the first place, it has, frequently, made it necessary to have recourse to other funds, in order to raise those sums, which the land tax alone, if equally levied, would have annually produced. Secondly, this inequality in levying the land tax has often put ministers upon raising money by more equal methods; that is, finding it impracticable to raise the sums required by such means, as all people ought to contribute to in proportion to their possession, they have been obliged to raise them by such, as all
must

must contribute to in proportion to their consumption. This has obliged them to create new funds, to extend the old, and apply the sinking fund, the nation's only hope, to purposes very different from Those, to which it was originally appropriated. These, and many more mischiefs would be cured, if the people of England were annually, and equally represented; and, if ever we are so happy as to see the promises, made by gentlemen, while they are opposing public measures, performed, when they come to have the conduct of them; and power administred with the same spirit, by which it was acquired, the nation then will, no doubt, have justice done them in these two important points; the obtaining of which would, in my opinion, render our constitution more perfect than any, that has yet appeared either in the ancient, or modern world. In the mean time, and until these two accomplishing regulations shall take place, we may have the satisfaction of considering both how near our government is arrived to perfection, and how fair a prospect it has of attaining it.

The following reason also did not a little contribute to my publishing this translation: I observed with pleasure the great success, which the life of Cicero has deservedly met with, and the happy turn it has given to conversation by banishing the trifles, that were, before, the unworthy subjects of it, and substituting in their room an inquiry into the constitution, the lan-

guage, and customs of a people, whose view was to conquer, polish, and instruct mankind. As a taste for learning does honor to every nation, where it flourishes, it is the duty of all persons to endeavour to revive that taste, where it is lost, and to preserve, and improve it, where it subsists; and nothing can contribute so effectually towards those ends as a constant supply of fresh materials; but on the choice of these depends the success: Scarce any thing has, of late, been offered to the public upon this subject, but mean translations of French performances, which, though every branch of learning is much indebted to the productions of that nation, have generally more vivacity, than solidity: This vivacity, the property of which is to entertain, rather than to instruct, has rendered their translations of the ancient authors so loose, they hardly deserve that name: One of the best, and most esteemed is that of POLYBIUS by Dom Vincent Thuillier: If I have found myself obliged to take notice of some inaccuracies, that have escaped him, it has been less with a view of censuring his translation, than of justifying my own. The difficulty of doing justice to the great authors of antiquity, by a translation of their works into a modern language, is so great, that I am infinitely more disposed to admire his work for the many excellences, with which it abounds, than to censure it for a few faults, which may be owing to a little inattention, or to the condition of human nature, whose fate it is never to be perfect;

fect; but these errors are so rarely to be met with in that performance, that they lie among the many beauties of it, like a few pebbles, wantonly scattered by the hand of nature, in a mine of diamonds.

But there is another difficulty, which a translator of POLYBIUS has particularly to encounter, and which I shall mention more for my own sake, than for That of the French translator, because I may, possibly, have greater occasion for the excuse: This difficulty arises from the style of that author; which, notwithstanding the unwillingness of Casaubon, and of the French translator to own it, is not so elegant, nor perspicuous as might be wished: It is very well known that he has been censured for a want of attention to the beauties of style by one of the greatest critics, as well as one of the greatest historians, of antiquity, I mean Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5); and it is certain there are many words made use of by Polybius, that are not to be met with in any other author, and many words made use of by him in a sense, which no other author gives to them: This, joined to an obscurity, either natural, or affected, makes the reading him very difficult, and the translating him much more so. I have often wished that so complete an historian in all other respects, and one, whose sense is so strong, and compass of learning so great, had written with as great elegance, and

(5) Περὶ συνθεσέως ὀνομάτων, C. 4.

harmony of style, as the author, who, in my opinion, so justly censures him for the want of them.

In my notes upon the fragment of Polybius, I have not taken any notice of an English translation of that author by Sir H. S. because, upon comparing it with the Greek text, and Casaubon's latin version, which is by much the best, I found it to be a translation of neither; for which reason, I violently suspect the author has translated some old translation published before Casaubon's edition appeared; which I am the rather inclined to believe, because there are two hiatus's in the English translation of this fragment, which are not in the Greek text, one answering to page 462, in Casaubon's edition, of two lines, and the other to page 464, of no less than 56 lines.

In the dissertation upon the constitution of the Roman Senate, I have taken notice of the many difficulties I met with in treating that subject: To what is there observed, I beg leave to add the following consideration. Every one, who reads at all, must have read the memorial written by the late Earl Stanhope to the Abbé de Vertot, author of the Roman revolutions: In that memorial, his lordship states several difficulties relative to the persons, of whom the Roman senate was composed: This memorial that gentleman answers in such a manner, as shews that, if he did not think those difficulties unanswerable, he left them, at least, unanswered; so that, whoever reads his answer to
that

that memorial, will, I believe, receive very little satisfaction, unless it be in reflecting that the praises so liberally bestowed, upon that occasion, by the writer of that answer, were as eminently deserved by the noble lord, to whom it was written. What I would infer from this, is, that, if a person, who was so perfectly acquainted with the civil, as well as military institutions of the ancients, as the late earl Stanhope, and who had passed his life in studying the actions, or following the examples, of the greatest men of antiquity; if a person, I say, so well qualified to decide, could doubt, and the author of the Roman revolutions not satisfy those doubts; I hope I may be intitled to some indulgence, should not every difficulty, which a curious reader may form to himself, be fully answered in that dissertation.

Τατων πολίτευματων εἶδη· ἡ γενεσις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολὴ
των πολιτείων εἰς ἀλλήλας. ὅτι ἀριστη πολιτεία ἢ ἐκ πάντων
των εἰδῶν συνέσωσα. καὶ ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ τοιαυτή.

ΤΩΝ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνικῶν πολιτευμάτων ὅσα πολ-
λακίς μὲν νυξῆται, πολλακίς δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰναντία
μεταβολῆς ὀλοχρεῶς πείραν εἰληφε, ῥαδίαν εἶναι συμβαίνει
καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐξηγήσιν, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς μελλοντοῦς
αποφασιν. τότε γὰρ ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ γινωσκομένα ῥαδίον·
τότε προεῖπεν ὑπὲρ τῆς μελλοντοῦς, σοχαζόμενον ἐκ τῶν ἤδη
γεγονότων, ευμαρῆς· περὶ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἔδ' ὅλως ευχερῆς,
ἕτε περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐξηγήσασθαι, διὰ τὴν ποικίλιαν τῆς
πολιτείας· ἕτε περὶ τῆς μελλοντοῦς προεῖπεν, ⁽¹⁾ διὰ τὴν
ἀνῴϊαν τῶν προγεγονότων περὶ αὐτῶν ἰδιωμάτων καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ'
ἰδίαν. Διόπερ, ὃ τῆς τυχερῆς ἐπιστάσεως προσδείται, καὶ
θεωρίας, εἰ μελλοῖ τις τὰ διαφερόντα καθαρίως ἐν αὐτῇ συν-
οψεσθαι.

Συμβαίνει δὴ τῆς πλείους τῶν βεβλομένων διδασκαλικῶς
ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνύειν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, τρία γένη λαβεῖν πολιτείων·
ὧν τὸ μὲν καλῶσι βασιλείαν, τὸ δ' αἰριστοκρατίαν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον δη-
μοκρατίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι πάνυ τις εἰκότως ἀν' ἐπαπορησθαι πρὸς αὐ-

(1) Διὰ τὴν ἀνῴϊαν τῶν προγεγονότων περὶ
αὐτῶν ἰδιωμάτων καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν.]
Dom Vincent Thuillier, the French
Translator, has rendered this, *parce*
que l'on ne connaît point assez comment
elle se conduisoit autrefois, soit dans les

affaires générales, soit dans les particu-
lières, which I do not take to be the
sense of the author, since ἰδιωματῶν
must, I believe, be understood to re-
late to the peculiar frame of the con-
stitution of the Romans, and not to

Of the several FORMS of GOVERNMENT: Of the origin, and natural transition of those governments to one another: That the best constitution is That, which is compounded of all of them; and that the constitution of the Romans is such a one.

Concerning those Greek commonwealths, which have often encreased in power, and often, to their ruin, experienced a contrary turn of fortune, it is an easy matter both to relate past transactions, and foretel Those to come; there being no great difficulty either in recounting what one knows, or in publishing conjectures of future events, from Those that are past. But, concerning the Roman commonwealth, it is not at all easy either to give an account of the present state of their affairs, by reason of the variety of their institutions; or to foretel what may happen to them, through the ignorance of the peculiar frame of their ancient government, both public and private, upon which such conjectures must be founded. For which reason, an uncommon attention and inquiry seem requisite, to form a clear idea of the points, in which the Roman commonwealth differs from Those of Greece.

It is, I find, customary with those, who professedly treat this subject, to establish three sorts of government; kingly government, aristocracy, and democracy: Upon which, one may, I think, very properly ask them, the conduct of their affairs. But, the best way of illustrating an author's meaning is to explain him by himself: Towards the end of this dissertation, POLYBIUS says, the Romans attained whatever they proposed, *through the*

peculiar frame of their government, where he makes use of almost the same word he employs upon this occasion; *την ιδιοτητα τῶ πολίτευματος*. In this I am supported by Casaubon's translation.

whether

τες, ποτερον ὡς μονας ταυτας, η και νη Δί' ὡς αριςτας ἡμιν
 εισηγνται των πολιτειων. κατ' αμφοτερα γαρ αἰνοειν μοι δο-
 κησι· δηλον γαρ, ὡς αριστην μεν ἡγήτεον πολιτειαν την εκ παν-
 των των προειρημενων ιδιωμάτων συνεσωσαν. τεττε γαρ τε
 μερες ε λογω μονον, αλλ' ερω πειραν ειληφαμεν· Λυκεργε
 συσησαντος πρωτε καλα τετον τον τροπον το Λακεδαιμονιων
 πολιευμα. Και τοι εδ' ὡς μονας ταυτας προσδεκλειον· και
 γαρ μοναρχικας και τυραννικας ηδη τινας τεθεαμεθα πολιτειας,
 αι πλειον διαφερχσαι βασιλειας, παραπλησιον εχειν τι ταυτη
 δοκωσι· η και συμψευδονται και συγχρωνται παντες οι μοναρχοι,
 καθ' ὅσον οιοι τ' εισι, τω της βασιλειας ονοματι. Και μην
 ολιγαρχικα πολιευματα και πλειω γερονε, δοκυντα παρομοιον
 εχειν τι τοις αριστοκρατικοις, α πλειον, ὡς επος ειπειν, διε-
 σασιν. ο δ' αυτος λογεται και περι δημοκρατίας.

Οτι δ' αληθες εσι το λεγομενον, εκ τετων συμφανες. ετε
 γαρ πασαν δηπε μοναρχιαν ευθεως βασιλειαν ρητεον· αλλα
 μονην την εξ ἐκόντων συγχωρεμενην, ⁽²⁾ και τη γνωμη το
 πλειον, η φοβω και βια κυβερνωμενην. εδε μην πασαν ολι-
 γαρχιαν αριστοκρατιαν νομιζεον· αλλα ταυτην η τις αν κατ'
 εκλογην ὑπο των δικαιωτατων και φρονιμωτατων ανδρων βρα-
 βευηται. ⁽³⁾ Παραπλησιως εδε δημοκρατιαν, εν η παν

⁽²⁾ Και τη γνωμη το πλειον, η φοβω και
 βια κυβερνωμενην.] I am obliged to
 differ both from Casaubon, and the
 French translator, in rendering this
 passage. The former has said, *et quæ
 consilio potius quàm metu aut vi regitur*;
 and the latter, *et où tout se fait plutôt
 par raison que par crainte, et par vio-*

lence. In the first place, I doubt whe-
 ther γνωμη is to be met with in the
 sense they have given to it, in any good
 author; whereas there is nothing so
 common as to find the word made
 use of for *consent* or *approbation*, whence
 come these phrases, καλα γνωμην, ac-
 cording to one's desire; παρα γνωμην,

whether they lay these down as the only forms of government, or, as the best: For, in both cases, they seem to be in an error; since it is manifest that the best form of government is That, which is compounded of all three. This we find to be founded not only in reason, but also in experience; Lycurgus having set the example of this form of government in the institution of the Lacedæmonian Commonwealth. Besides, these three are not to be received as the only forms; since we may have observed some monarchical and tyrannical governments, which, though widely different from kingly government, seem still to bear some resemblance to it. For which reason, all monarchs agree in using their utmost endeavours, however falsely, or abusively, to be styled kings. We may have also observed still more oligarchies, which seemed, in some degree, to resemble aristocracies, though the difference between them has been extremely great. The same thing may be said also of democracy.

What I have advanced will become evident from the following considerations: For, every monarchy is not presently to be called a kingly government, but only That, which is the gift of a willing people, and is founded on their consent, rather than on fear, and violence. Neither, is every oligarchy to be looked upon as an aristocracy, but only That, which is administered by a select number of those, who are most eminent for their justice, and prudence. In the same manner, that government ought not to be looked

contrary to one's desire; and, particularly, *ἐκ μίας γνώμης, unanimously*. Secondly, this sense of the word *γνώμη* seems to agree better with what immediately precedes it, *ἐξ ἔκοντων συσχεσμένην*, and to be more properly opposed to what immediately follows it, *φιβῶ και βία*.

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(3) Περὶ ἀπλησίους ἔδε δημοκρατίαν, ἐν ἣ παύ πλῆθος κυρίον ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι πόλιν αὐτοβελήθη καὶ προσηταί· παρὰ δὲ ὡ πατρίον ἐστὶ καὶ συνηθὲς θεὸς σεβασθαι, γονεὶς θεράπευειν, πρεσβυτέρους αἰδεσθαι, νόμοις πειθεσθαι.] The French translator has strangely mistaken this passage; he has not attended to the force of the

E e e

upon

πληθος κυριον εσι ποιειν ὅ,τι ποτ' αν αυτο βεληθη και προθηται· παρα δε ὦ πατριον εσι και συνηθες θεος σεβεσθαι, γονεις θερα-
πευειν, πρεσβυτερος αιδεισθαι, νομοις πειθεσθαι· αλλα παρα
τοις τοιςτοις συσημασιν, ὅταν το τοις πλειοσι δοξαν νικα,
τστο δει καλειν δημοκρατιαν.

Διο και γενη μεν ἐξ ειναι ῥηleon πολιτειων· τρια μεν α
παντες θρυλλασι, και νυν προειρηται· τρια δε τα τστοις συμ-
φυη, λεγω δε μοναρχιαν, ολιγαρχιαν, οχλοκρατιαν. πρωτη
μεν εν ακαλασκευως και φυσικως συνισθαι μοναρχια· ταυτη δ'
ἐπειαι και εκ ταυτης γενναται μελα κατασκευης και διορθωσεως
βασιλεια. μελαβαλλεσης δε ταυτης εις τα συμφυη κακα,
λεγω δη εις τυραννιδα· (4) αυθις εκ της τστων καταλυσεως,
αριστοκρατια φυθαι. και μην ταυτης εις ολιγαρχιαν εκλεραπεισης
καλα φυσιν, τσ δε πληθους οργη μετελθονθ' τας των προ-
εστων αδικιας, γενναται δημθ'. εκ δε της τστσ παλιν ὑβρεως,
και παρανομιας, αποκληρεσται συν χρονοις οχλοκρατια.

Γνοιη δ' αν τις σαφεστατα περι τστων, ὡς αληθως εσιν,
οια δη νυν ειπον, επι τας εκαστω καλα φυσιν αρχας και γενε-

particle δε, by which POLYBIUS has placed the latter part of this period in opposition to the former; but, the only way to make the reader sensible of this mistake, is to quote the words of the French translation. *En vain aussi*, says he, *donneroit-on le nom de démocratie à un état, où la populace seroit maîtresse de faire tout ce qu'il lui plairoit, & où l'on seroit depuis long tems dans l'usage de révéler les dieux, d'être soumis à ceux dont on tient le jour,*

de respecter les anciens, & d'obéir aux loix : on ne doit appeller démocratie qu'un état, où le sentiment qui l'importe sur les autres est celui du plus grand nombre. So that, according to him, religion, a respect to parents and elders, and obedience to the laws, are as repugnant to a democracy as licentiousness. But this is far from being the sense of POLYBIUS, as the reader will find, if he pleases to compare the French translation with the original.

upon as a democracy, where the multitude have a power of doing whatever they desire, and propose; but That only, in which it is an established law and custom to worship the gods, to honour their parents, to respect their elders, and obey the laws: When, in assemblies so formed, every thing is decided by the majority, such a government deserves the name of a democracy.

So that, six kinds of government must be allowed; three, which are generally established, and have been already mentioned; and three, that are allied to them, namely, monarchy, oligarchy, and the government of the multitude. The first of these is instituted by nature, without the assistance of art: The next is kingly government, which is derived from the other by art and improvement; when this degenerates into the evil, that is allied to it, I mean, tyranny, the destruction of the tyrant gives birth to aristocracy; which degenerating also, according to the nature of things, into oligarchy, the people, inflamed with anger, punish the injustice of their magistrates, and form a democracy; from the insolence of which, and their contempt of the laws, arises, in time, the government of the multitude.

Whoever examines, with attention, the natural principles, the birth, and revolution of each of these forms of

(4) Αὐθις ἐκ τῆς τετῶν καταλυσεως ἀριστοκρατία φέεται.] *De la monarchie vient la royauté, lorsqu'on y ajoute l'art & qu'on en corrige les défauts; & quand elle dégénère en tyrannie, dont elle approche beaucoup, sur les ruines de l'une & de l'autre s'élève l'aristocratie.* The French translator has rendered this, as if τετῶν related both to kingly government and tyranny, the destruction of both which gives, according to him,

birth to aristocracy; but, this is not the gradation set forth by POLYBIUS: First, monarchy is improved into kingly government, which afterwards degenerates into tyranny; then, the destruction of tyranny gives birth to aristocracy; thus, it is visible that according both to the sense, and the construction, τετῶν can relate to συμφυη κακῶν only, that is, as our author himself explains it, to tyranny.

σεις και μελαβολας επισησας. ὁ γὰρ συνιδων ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς φυεῖται, μονῶ αν ἔτῶ δυναίλο συνιδειν καιτην αυξησιν, καιτην ακμην, καιτην μελαβολην ἕκαστων, και τοτελῶ, ποτε, και πως, (5) και πῃ κατανήσει παλιν. Μαλιστα δε επι της Ρωμαιων πολίτειας τῆτον ἀρμουςιν τον τροπον ὑπειληφα της εξηγήσεως, δια το καλῶ φυσιν αὐτην ἀπ' αρχης ειληφεναι την τε συσασιν και αυξησιν.

Ακριβεσερον μεν εν ισως ὁ περι της κατα φυσιν μελαβολης των πολιτειων εις αλληλας, διευκρινεεται λοῖῶ παρα Πλατωνι, και τισιν ἑτεροις των φιλοσοφων· (6) ποικιλῶ δε ων και δια πλειονων λεγομενῶ, ολιγοις εφικλος εσιν· διοπερ ὅσον ανηκειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν αὐτα προς την πραγματικην ἰσορριαν, και την κοινην επινοιαν, τῆτο πειρασομεθα κεφαλαιωδως διελθειν. και γαρ αν ελλειπειν τι δοξῇ δια της καθολικης εμφασεως, ὁ κατα μερῶ λογῶ των ἐξης ρηθησομενων ἱκανην ἀνἀποδῶσιν ποιησει των νυν επαπορηθεντων.

Ποιῶς εν αρχας λείῶ, και ποθεν φημι φυεσθαι τας πολιτείας πρῶτον; Οταν η δια κατακλυσμους, η δια λοιμικας περισσεις, η δι' ἀφορίας καρπων, η δι' αλλας τοιαυτας αιτίας φθορα γενηται τῶ των ανθρωπων γενους, οἷας ηδη γερονεναι παρειληφμεν, και παλιν πολλακις εσεσθαι ὁ λοῖῶ αἶρει· τοτε δη συμφθειρομενων πάντων των ἐπιηδευματων, και τεχνων, ὅταν εκ των περιλειφθεντων οἷονει σπερματων αὐτις αυξηθῇ συν χρόνῳ πληθῶ ανθρωπων, τοτε δηπῶ, καλῶπερ επι των αλλαν

(5) Καὶ πῃ κατανήσει παλιν.] *En general, in my opinion; POLYBIUS*
quelle forme il se changera, is much too *speaks of the rotation of governments,*
 ζῶων,

government, will be convinced of the truth of what I have advanced: For he alone, who knows in what manner each of them is produced, can form a judgement of the encrease, the perfection, the revolution, and end of each; and when, by what means, and to which of the former states they will return. I thought this detail, in a particular manner, applicable to the Roman government, because the establishment and encrease of That was, from the beginning, founded on nature.

Possibly, the natural revolution of governments into one another, may be more accurately determined by PLATO, and some other philosophers; but those discourses, being full of variety, and of a great length, few are capable of understanding them; for which reason, we shall endeavour to give a summary account of so much of them, as is consistent with history (whose object is action) and the general understanding of mankind: For, if, by reason of the universality of this dissertation, any thing should seem to be omitted, the particular detail we shall afterwards enter into, will make sufficient amends for what may now appear doubtful.

What, therefore, are the beginnings of governments, and from whence do they originally spring? When, either by a deluge, a pestilence, a famine, or the like calamity, such as we know have happened, and reason teaches us will often happen again, the race of mankind is well nigh destroyed, and all their institutions, and arts destroyed with them; from the few that are left, as from so many seeds, a new generation, in process of time, encreases to a multi-

and of their return to the same point, from whence they set out. This he expresses a few lines after in other words, *viz.* περί της κατά φύσιν μεταβολῆς τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας; which

the French translator has again rendered generally by *changement des états.*

(6) Ποικίλος δὲ ὢν.] Left out by the French translator.

tude;

ζῶων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συναθροισζομένων, ὅπερ εἶκος κατὰ τὸ το ὁμοφυλον συναγελαζέσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθενεῖαν· ἀναγκὴ τὸν τῆ σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ψυχικῇ τολμῇ διαφερόντα, τῶν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ κρατεῖν· καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν γενῶν ⁽⁷⁾ τῶν ἀδοξοποιητῶν ζῶων θεωρεῖμεν. τὸ χρὴ φύσεως ἔργον ἀληθινωτάτον νομίζειν· παρ' οἷς ὁμολογεῖμεν ὅτι τὰς ἰσχυροτάτας ὁρῶμεν ἡγούμενας· λέγω δὲ ταύρας, καπρὰς, ἀλεκτρυόνας, καὶ τὰ τῶν παραπλησίων. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀρχὰς εἶκος τοιαύτας εἶναι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίαις ζῶον συναθροισζομένων, τοῖς ἀλκιμωτάτοις καὶ δυναμικωτάτοις ἐπομένων· οἷς ὅρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχύς· ὄνομα δ' ἀν εἰποι τις μοναρχίαν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τοῖς συστήμασι διὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπογενῆται συντροφία καὶ συνήθεια, τότε ἀρχὴ βασιλείας φέρεται· καὶ τότε πρῶτως ἐννοία γίνεται τῆ καλῆ καὶ δίκαιῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τῶν τοῖς. ⁽⁸⁾ ὁ δὲ τροπῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων τοιοσδε.

Πάντων γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ὁρμώντων κατὰ φύσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παιδοποιίας ἀποτελεσμένης· ὅποτε τις τῶν ἐκτρα-

(7) Τῶν ἀδοξοποιητῶν ζῶων.] This word, like many others in POLYBIUS, is not to be found in any lexicon, either ancient, or modern, that I have seen; nor, I believe, in any other author; but, as it is formed from *δοξα* and *ποιεω*, with the negative particle placed before it, it can mean nothing but those animals, that are not governed in their actions by *opinions*; which sense, I think, the French translator ought to have expressed, and not to have contented himself with

saying negatively, *qui certainement ne suivent que ses loix*; that is, *celles de la nature*, which immediately precedes it.

(8) Ὁ δὲ τροπῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων τοιοσδε.] Thus rendered by the French translator, *c'est donc de cette sorte que les republiques, ou les sociétés civiles ont pris naissance*: If he had attended closely to the chain of reasoning, which our author has pursued in treating this subject, he would have been sensible that τῶν εἰρημένων, in this place, relates to the formation

tude; then it comes to pass, as in other animals, so in men, when they are got together (which it is reasonable to suppose they would be, as they are of the same kind, by reason of their natural weakness) that he, who excels in strength of body, and courage, must, of necessity, gain the command, and authority over the rest: And, as in animals of other kinds also, which are not influenced by opinions, we observe the same thing commonly falls out, this ought to be looked upon as the most genuine work of nature: Among these, the strongest are, by common consent, allowed to be the masters; such as bulls, wild boars, cocks, and animals of the like nature: In the same manner, it is probable that men also, when they first get together, like a herd, are governed by those of the greatest strength and courage; the measure of whose power is strength, and their government, monarchy. When the individuals, thus assembled, by living together, become, through time, habituated to one another, then is the foundation laid of kingly government; and then do mankind receive the first tincture of honor and justice, and of their opposites: The notions of which are first formed in the following manner.

Every one having a natural impulse to copulation, the consequence of which is procreation, when a child, who,

of the notions of *honor* and *justice*, *τις καλῶς καὶ δίκαιος*, which immediately precedes it, and not to That of commonwealths, and civil societies: For, after he has set forth the undutifulness of children to their parents, and the ingratitude of the obliged to their benefactors, he makes the indignation arising in the breasts of those, who are witnesses to the instances he gives of both, to produce the first impression of the power of duty, which, he says, is the beginning, and end of *justice*. He goes on to shew that the applause

which valor meets with, and the contempt, with which a contrary behaviour is treated, create in the minds of men the notions of *honor* and *dishonor*, and of the difference between them. So that, I believe, the reader will agree with me, that this passage is not applicable to the formation of commonwealths, and civil societies, as the French translator has rendered it, but to That of the notions of *honor* and *justice*; and that *ταῖς αὐταῖς* plainly relates to what follows, and not to what precedes.

by

φεντων εις ἡλικίαν ἰκομενθ, μη νεμοι χαριν, μηδ' αμυναι
 τστοις οἷς εκτραφειη· αλλα που ταναντια κακως λειβει η δραν
 τστοις ελχειροη· δηλον ὡς δυσαρξεσειν και προσκοπλειν εικος τς
 ενοῖας και συνιδοντας την γεγεννημενην εκ των γεννησαντων επι-
 μελειαν, και κακοπαθειαν περι τα τεκνα και την τστων θερα-
 πειαν και τροφην. τς γαρ γενς των ανθρωπων ταυτη διαφε-
 ρονθ των αλλων ζων, ἡ μονοις αυτοις μετεσι νσ και λοισμς·
 φανερον ὡς εκ εικος παρσιν ατς την προειρημενην δια-
 φοραν, καθαπερ επι των αλλων ζων· αλλ επισημαινεσθαι
 το γινομενον, και δυσαρξεσθαι τοις παρσι· προορωμενς το
 μελλον, και συλλογιζομενς, ὅτι το παραπλησιον ἑκασοις αυ-
 των συκχυρηται. Καὶ μὴν ὅταν πς παλιν ἑτερθ ὑπο θαλερς
 τυχων επικερειας η βοηθειας εν τοις δεινοις, μη νεμη τω σω-
 σαντι χαριν, αλλα ποτε και βλαπλειν ελχειρη τστον· φανερον
 ὡς εικος τω τοις τω δυσαρξεσθαι και προσκοπλειν τς ειδόας,
 συνάβανακλιντας μεν τω πελας, αναφεροντας δ' επ' ατς το
 παραπλησιον· (9) εξ ὧν ὑπογίγνεται τις εννοια παρ' ἑκασῶ
 της τς καθηκοντος δυναμεως και θεωρια· ὅπερ εσιν αρχη και
 τελθ δικαιοσυνης.

Ομοίως παλιν, ὅταν αμυνῇ μὲν τις πρὸ παντῶν ἐν τοῖς
 δεινοῖς, ὑφίστηται δὲ καὶ μενῇ τας ἐπιφορας τῶν ἀλκιμωλάτων
 ζῶν· (10) εἰκος μὲν τὸν τοις τὸν ὑπο τς πληθς ἐπισήμασι

(9) Εξ ὧν ὑπογίγνεται τις εννοια παρ' ἑκα-
 στῆς τς καθηκοντος δυναμεως και θεωρια.]
 Casaubon's edition of POLYBIUS,
 which is by much the best, has θεωρίας,
 which I imagine to be a fault in the
 impression, particularly, since he has

not followed this sense in his transla-
 tion; I have altered it to θεωρία,
 which is more agreeable both to
 the sense, and to the construction,
 since εννοια τις θεωρίας is scarce intel-
 ligible.

by the care of his parents, has attained the age of discretion, makes no grateful return, nor yields any assistance, to those, by whom he was brought up; but, on the contrary, endeavours to abuse them by his words, or actions, it is plain that those, who are witnesses of it, and know the pains and hardships their parents underwent in taking care of, and bringing up, their children, must be displeased, and offended at this behaviour: For, as there is this difference between mankind, and other animals, that the former are indued with understanding and reason, it is plain, they will not neglect the use of these faculties, by which they are so much distinguished from those animals, but observe what passes upon this occasion, and be displeased with it; particularly, when they look forward, and consider that the like misfortune may happen to each of them. Again, when any one, who has been assisted, and relieved by another in distress, instead of being grateful, endeavours to injure his benefactor, it is manifest that those, who are acquainted with such a proceeding, must be disgusted, and offended at it, not only because they compassionate the sufferings of their neighbour, but also because they themselves expect to meet with the like treatment: From whence some notion, and consideration of the power of duty is introduced into every man's mind; which is the beginning, and end of justice.

In like manner, when any one runs the hazard of his life in the defence of the community, resists, and withstands the most violent attacks of wild beasts, it may be expected that such a one will meet with the acclamations of the

(10) Εἰκομένην τὸν ποιεῖτον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπισημασίας τυχεῖν εὐνοϊκῆς καὶ προσαιτικῆς.] The French translator has left out the most material part of this sentence, which serves as the founda-

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tion of every thing that follows. *Pourquoi au contraire donne-t-on tant d'applaudissements à celui qui &c.* are his words; whereas POLYBIUS says, that superior strength and valor are the qualifications of every man of
F f f people,

τυγχάνειν ευνοϊκής και προσάλικης· τον δὲ τ' ἀνάνια τ' ἰὼ πρᾶτ' ἰὼ
 καταβνώσεως και προσκοπης· ἐξ ἑπαλιν ευλογον ὑποδίνεσθαι τινα
 θεωρίαν παρα τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰχρῶ και καλῶ, και της τ' ἰὼν προς
 ἀλλήλα διαφοράς. και το μεν ζήλῶ και μιμησεως τυγχάνειν,
 δια το συμφερον· το δε φύλης. ὅταν εν οῖς ὁ προεσως και την μείσ-
 την δύναμιν εχων, αει συνεπισχυῇ τοῖς προειρημενοῖς κατα τας
 των πολλων διαλεξεις, και δοξῇ τοῖς ὑποταττομενοῖς διανεμητι-
 κοσιναι τε κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστοις· εκετι την βιαν δεδιότες, τη δε
 γνώμη το πλειον ευδοκουντες, ὑποταττοῖναι και συσώζουσι την ἀρχην.
 αὐτῶ, καν ὅλως ἡ γηραιος· ὁμοθυμαδον επαμυνοντες και διαβωι-
 ζομενοι προς τῶς επιβουλευοντας αὐτῶ τη δυνασει· και δη τῶ
 τοῖστω τ' ὁπῶ βασιλευς εκ μοναρχῶ λανθάνει γενομενῶ·
 ὅταν ὡρᾷ τε θυμῶ και της ἰχυῶ μέγα λαβῇ την ἡγεμονίαν
 ὁ λογισμος. Αὐτῶ καλῶ και δικαίῶ πρώτη παρ' ἀνθρώποις
 καλῶ φύσιν ἐννοία και των ἐναντίων τ' ὅτοις· αὐτῶ βασιλείας
 ἀληθινῶς ἀρχῶ και γένεσις. ἡ γαρ μονον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ και
 τοῖς εκ τ' ὅτων ἐπὶ πολυ διαφυλαττοσι τας ἀρχας· πεπεισ-
 μενοι, τῶς εκ τοῖστων γεγονότας, και τ' ὁφέντας ὑπο τοῖσ-
 τοῖς, ὡρᾷ πλησιῶς ἐξεν και τας προαιρεσεις. Εαν δὲ ποτε
 τοῖς ἐκγόνοις δυσἀρεσησῶσι, ποιουνται μέγα ταῦτα την αἵρεσιν
 των ἀρχόντων και βασιλεων, εκ ετι καλῶ τας σωματικας
 και θυμικας δυνάμεις· ἀλλὰ και καλῶ τας της γνώμης,
 και τῶ λογισμῶ διαφοράς· πειραν ἐληφοτες ἐπ' αὐτων των
 ἐργων της ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὡρᾷ ἀλλαγῆς.

lities, that first engage the people to
 chuse the person, who is possessed of

perly expressed by the word *προσαδικης*,
 and ought to have been preserved in
 the translation.

people, testifying their good will to, and desire to be governed by, him; while the man, who acts in a contrary manner, will be censured, and disliked: From whence, again, it is reasonable to believe that some consideration of honor and dishonor, and of the difference between them, will be produced in the minds of the people; and that the former will be admired and imitated, through the advantage that flows from it, and the latter avoided. When therefore, the person, who has the command over the rest, and is indued with superior strength, in his harangues to the people, for ever countenances the men I have mentioned, and has created in his subjects an opinion, that he constantly treats every one according to his merit; they are no longer afraid of violence, but rather willingly submit to him, and unite in supporting his government, even though he is far advanced in years, unanimously defending, and maintaining him against all those, who endeavour to supplant him in the command. By this means, a monarch insensibly becomes a king, that is, when the power is transferred from courage and strength, to reason: This is the first natural notion of honor and justice among men, and of their contraries; and this the beginning, and origin of true kingly government: For the people preserve the command not only to them, but to their descendants long after them; being persuaded that those, who have received their birth, and education from such men, will resemble them also in their principles. But, if, at any time, they are dissatisfied with their descendants, they then chuse magistrates and kings, with regard only to superior sense and reason, and not to bodily strength and courage; having, by experience been convinced of the difference between them.

Το μὲν ὅν παλαιὸν ἐνεγερθεσκόν ταις βασιλείαις οἱ κερ-
 δεῖνες ἀπάξ, καὶ τυχόντες τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης· τοῦτοι τε δια-
 φερὸντας οὐχυρμένοι, καὶ τειχιζόντες, καὶ χώραν καλὰ κλι-
 μένοι· τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀσφαλείας χάριν, τὸ δὲ τῆς δαψιλείας
 τῶν ἐπιήδειων τοῖς ὑποτέλαγμένοις· ἀμὰ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα σπυ-
 ραζοῦντες ἐκὸς ἦσαν πάσης διαβολῆς καὶ φθόνου, διὰ τὸ μὴτε
 περὶ τὴν ἐσθὴτα μεγάλας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ᾠδᾶλλαγας, μὴτε
 περὶ τὴν βρωσὶν καὶ ποσὶν· ἀλλὰ ᾠδᾶπλησίον εἶχεν τὴν
 βίωσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὁμοσε ποιεῖμενοι τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰετὴν
 διαίταν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ κατὰ γένος τὰς ἀρχὰς
 ᾠδᾶλαμβάνοντες, ἑτοῖμα μὲν εἶχον ἤδη τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀσ-
 φαλείαν, ἑτοῖμα δὲ καὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν
 τροφὴν· τότε δὴ ταις ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπομένοισι διὰ τὴν περισσίαν,
 ἐξάλλους μὲν ἐσθῆτας ὑπέλαβον δεῖν εἶναι τοὺς ἡγούμενους
 τῶν ὑποτάττομενων, ⁽¹¹⁾ ἐξάλλως δὲ καὶ ποικίλας τὰς ᾠδᾶς
 τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ ᾠδᾶσκῶδας, ἀνανήϊρρητους δὲ καὶ
 ᾠδᾶ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων τὰς τῶν Αἰφροδισίων χρείας καὶ
 συνουσίας· ἐφ' οἷς μὲν φθόνος γενομένης καὶ προσκοπῆς, ἐφ'
 οἷς δὲ μίσος ἐκκαίμενης, καὶ δυσμενικῆς οργῆς, ἐγενετο μὲν
 ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τυραννὶς· ἀρχὴ δὲ καταλύσεως ἐγεννατο,
 καὶ συστάσις ἐπιβλήτης τοῖς ἡγούμενοις· ἦν δὲ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γενναϊοτάτων καὶ μεγαλοψυχωτάτων, ἐτι
 δὲ θαρρᾶλεωτάτων ἀνδρῶν συνεβάνε γενεσθαι· διὰ τὸ τῆς
 τοιαύτης ἡκίστα δυνασθαι φερεῖν τὰς τῶν ἐφεσῶτων ὕβρεις. τὰ

(11) Εξάλλως δὲ καὶ ποικίλας τὰς περὶ
 τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ παρὰσκευάς.]

Plus pompeusement servi que ses sujets,
 says the French translator; which, in

Formerly, therefore, those, who were once chosen kings, and invested with this dignity, grew old in the enjoyment of it: In the mean time, they fortified advantageous posts, furrounding them with walls, and possessed themselves of a territory; by the former, they consulted the security of their subjects; and, by the latter, they supplied them with plenty of provisions. While they employed themselves in this manner, they continued blameless and unenvied, because they differed very little either in their clothes, their table, or their manner of living, from the rest of the people, with whom they passed their lives: But afterwards, their posterity succeeding to the government by right of inheritance, and finding every thing provided for them, that was necessary for their security, and more than was necessary for their support; they were led by superfluity to indulge their appetites, and to imagine that it became princes to appear in a different dress from their subjects, to eat in a different, and more luxurious manner, with greater variety, and preparation, and to enjoy, without contradiction, even the forbidden pleasures of love; the first of which, produced envy and dislike, and the other, hatred and resentment; by which means, kingly government degenerated into tyranny; and, at the same time, a foundation was laid, and a conspiracy formed for the destruction of those who exercised it: The accomplices of which, were not men of inferior rank, but persons of the most generous, the most exalted, and also the most enterprising spirit; because such men can least bear the insolence of those in power. The

my opinion, is much too general an *riety* both of the meats, and dressing.
 expression, since it leaves out the *va-*

people,

δε πληθους, όταν λαβῇ προσάτας, συνεπιχουῖλος κατα των ἡγχεμενων, δια τας προειρημενας αιτίας· το μεν της βασιλειας και μοναρχιας ειδος αρδην ανηρείτο, ⁽¹²⁾ το δε της αριστοκρατίας αυθις αρχην ελαμβανε και γενεσιν.

Τοις γαρ καταλυσασι τας μοναρχας, οῖονι χαριν ⁽¹³⁾ εκ χειρός αποδιδόντες οἱ πολλοι, τῆτοις εχρωντο προσάτας, και τῆτοις επετρεπον ᾧ σφῶν. οἱ δε, το μεν πρῶτον ασμενίζοντες την επιτροπην, εδεν προεργιατερον εποικντο τῆ κοινῇ συμφερόντος, και κηδεμονικῶς και φυλακτικῶς ἐκάστα χειρίζοντες, και τας κατ' ἰδιαν, και τα κοινὰ τῆ πληθους. ὅτε δε, διαδεξαιντο παλιν παιδες ᾧ πατέρων την αυτην ἐξουσιαν ⁽¹⁴⁾, απειροι μεν οντες κακων, απειροι δε καθολικῆς πολιτικῆς ἰσοτητῆς και παρρησίας, τετραμμενοι δ' ἐξ αρχῆς εν ταις των πατέρων ἐξουσιαις, και προαγωγῆς· ὀρμησαντες οἱ μεν ἐπι πλεονεξίαν και φιλαργυρίαν ἀδικον, οἱ δ' ἐπι μεθας και τας αἶμα ταυταις ἀπληστῶς ευωχίας· οἱ δ' ἐπι τας των γυναικων ὕβρεις και παιδων ἄρπαγας· μετεστησαν μεν την αριστο-

(12) Το δε της αριστοκρατίας ΑΤΘΙΣ αρχην ελαμβανε και γενεσιν.] Both the Latin and French translators have very properly avoided an absurdity, which the rendering αυθις in the common acceptation of the word must necessarily have led them into; though I wish they had given it the sense, in which POLYBIUS has taken it upon this occasion, which is, *thereupon, after that*, or something to that effect. There is a passage in Homer, in which that word can be used in no other sense: It is in the dialogue between Ulysses,

and Eumæus, where the latter says, *How could I expect to live in reputation among men, or implore the assistance of Jupiter with any confidence, if, having brought you to my house, and treated you in a hospitable manner, I should, after that, put you to death?*

Ξειν', εἴτω γὰρ κεν μοι εὐκλειη τ', ἀρετὴ τε,
Εἴη' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων αἶμα τ' αὐτίκα, καὶ μελέπαια,
Ὅς σ' ἐπ' αἰ κλισίην ἀγαθόν, καὶ ξεινία δώκα,
ΑΤΘΙΣ δὲ κτεναίμιν, Φίλον δ' ἀπο θυμὸν
ἐλοίμην,

Πρόφρων θῆκεν ἐπειδὴ Δία Κρονίωνα κλισίμην;
Odyss. E. ver. 402.

people, therefore, having these to lead them, and, for the reasons before mentioned, uniting against their rulers, kingly government, and monarchy were extirpated, and aristocracy thereupon began to be established.

For the people, as an immediate acknowledgement to those who had destroyed monarchy, chose these leaders for their governors, and left all their concerns to them. These, at first, chearfully accepting the trust, preferred the advantage of the public to all other considerations, and administered all affairs, both public and private, with care and vigilance: But here again, the sons of these, having succeeded their parents in the same power, they, being unacquainted with evils, absolute strangers to civil equality and liberty, and educated, from their infancy, in the splendor of the power, and dignities of their parents, and some of them, giving themselves up to avarice, and the desire of unjust gain, others, to drunkenness, and intemperate entertainments, and others, to the abuse of women, and ravishment of boys, by this behaviour, changed the aristo-

(13) Οἶονεὶ χάριν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀποδιδόντες οἱ πολλοί.] The French translator has said, *Le peuple, sensible au bienfait de ceux qui l'avoient délivré des monarques, miet ces généreux citoyens à sa tête & se soumit à leur conduite.* So that, he has left out ἐκ χειρὸς, which gives great beauty to this passage, and which Ca-faubon has very properly rendered by *à vestigio*.

(14) Ἀπειροὶ μὲν ὄντες κακῶν.] *Gens peu accoutumés au travail* is, surely, not the sense of this passage; POLYBIUS

means *the evils*, which the people had suffered under their tyrants, and with which these successors of their deliverers were unacquainted. This he afterwards explains, when, speaking of the infancy of democracy, he says that, *while any are living, who felt the power and domination of the few, they acquiesce under the present establishment.*

μέχρι μὲν αὖ ἐτι σωζοῦναι τινες τῶν ὑπερχῆς καὶ δυναστείας πειρᾶν εὐληφόντων, which is the same thing he says here, only in more words.

cracy

κρατιαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν· ταχὺ δὲ κατεσκευάσαν ἐν τοῖς
 πληθεσὶ παλιν τὰ ὥραπλησια τοῖς ἀρίστοις ῥήθεις. διὸ καὶ
 ὥραπλησιον συνέβαινε τὸ τελεῖν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τῆς καλῆς
 εὐφροσύνης τοῖς περὶ τῶν τυραννέων αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τις
 συνθεασάμενος τὸν φόβον καὶ τὸ μίσος κατ' αὐτῶν, τὸ
 παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὑπάρχον, καπετα θάρρησιν λέγειν ἢ
 πράττειν τι κατὰ τῶν προεσῶτων, πάντες ἔτοιμον καὶ συνεργόν
 λαμβάνει τὸ πλῆθος· λοιπὸν, ἢς μὲν φονεύσαντες, ἢς δὲ
 φυλάδουσιν, . . . ὅτε βασιλεὺς προῖσαται τολμῶσιν· ἐτι
 δεδιότες τὴν τῶν προτέρων ἀδικίαν· ὅτε πλείοσιν ἐπιτρέπουν
 τὰ κοινὰ θάρρησιν· παρὰ πόδας αὐτοῖς ἔσσης τῆς προτέρων
 ἀγνοίας· ⁽¹⁵⁾ μόνῃς δὲ σφίσι καταλειπομένης ἐλπίδος ἀκε-
 ραίᾳ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ταύτην καταφέρονται· καὶ τὴν μὲν
 πολιτείαν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχικῆς δημοκρατίαν ἐποίησαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν
 κοινῶν προνοίαν καὶ πίσιν εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνελάβον.

Καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἂν ἐτι σωζῶνται τινες τῶν ὑπεροχῆς καὶ
 δυναστείας πειρᾶν εὐληφόντων, ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ καλῆς
 εὐφροσύνης, περὶ πλείους ποιεῖν τὴν ἰσηγορίαν, καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν.
 ὅταν δ' ἐπιγενῶνται νεοὶ, καὶ παισὶ παιδῶν παλιν ἢ δημο-
 κρατία ὥραδοθῇ, τότε καὶ ἐτι διὰ τὸ συνήθες ἐν μεγάλῳ τι-
 θεμένοι τοῦ τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας, ζητοῦσι πλέον εἶναι
 τῶν πολλῶν· μαλιστα δ' εἰς τὰς ἐμπιπλάσιν οἱ ταῖς ἔσσιαι

(15) Μόνῃς δὲ σφίσι καταλειπομένης ἐλ-
 πίδος ἀκεραίας τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς.] *Il ne restoit
 donc plus au peuple d'autre espérance que
 dans lui-même.* I imagine, the diffi-

culty of rendering ἀκεραίας properly,
 prevailed upon the French translator
 to leave it out; though he must have
 been sensible that the energy of the
 ὑπερεχονίαις.

cracy into an oligarchy; and soon inspired the people with the same passions they were before possessed with; by which means, their catastrophe became the same with That of the tyrants : For, if any person, observing the general envy and hatred, which these rulers have incurred, has the courage to say, or do any thing against them, he finds the whole body of the people ready to assist him : Thereupon, they put some of them to death, and banish others ; but dare not, after that, appoint a king to govern them, being still afraid of the injustice of the first ; neither dare they intrust the government with any number of men, having still before their eyes the errors, which these had before committed : So that, having no hope unallayed, but in themselves, they lay hold on that ; and, by converting the government from an oligarchy to a democracy, take upon themselves the care, and charge of the public affairs.

And, as long as any are living, who felt the power, and domination of the few, they acquiesce under the present establishment, and look upon equality, and liberty as the greatest of blessings. But, when a new race of men grows up, and the democracy falls into the hands of their childrens children, these, no longer regarding equality and liberty, from being accustomed to them, aim at a greater share of power than the rest, particularly those of the greatest fortunes ; who, grown now ambitious, and, being

whole sentence turns upon the force of that word, which will plainly appear upon considering the context ; POLYBIUS says that the people, having been abused both by their kings and the few, whom they had successively

intrusted with the government, were equally afraid of both ; so that, they had no hope that was not *mixed* with very just apprehensions, but in themselves.

ὑπερεχόντες· λοιπόν όταν ὁρμησῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλαρχεῖν, ⁽¹⁶⁾ καὶ
 μὴ δυνῶνται δ' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς τυγχάνειν τετῶν,
 διαφθεῖρσι τὰς ἑσίας, δαλεάζοντες καὶ λυμαίνονται τὰ πληθὴ
 καὶ ἀπαντὰ τροπον. ἐξ ὧν όταν ἀπαξ δωροδοκῆς καὶ δωροφα-
 γῆς κατασκευάσωσι τὰς πολλὰς, διὰ τὴν ἀφρονα δοξοφα-
 γίαν, τότε ἤδη πάλιν τὸ μὲν τῆς δημοκρατίας καταλύεται.
 μεθίσταται δ' εἰς βίαν καὶ χειροκρατίαν ἡ δημοκρατία. συνειθισ-
 μενοῦ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος εἶθιεν τὰ ἀλλοτρία, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας
 εἶχεν τὰ ζῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν πέλας, όταν λαβὴ προσάτην μετὰ
 λοφρονα καὶ τολμήσον, ἐκλείομενον δὲ διὰ πένιαν τῶν ἐν τῇ
 πολιτείᾳ τιμίῳ· τότε δὴ χειροκρατίαν ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ τότε
 συναθροίζομενον ποιεῖ σφαγὰς, φυγὰς, γῆς ἀναδασμῶς· ἕως
 ἀν ἀποτεθῆναι πάλιν εὖρη δεσποτὴν καὶ μοναρχον.

Αὕτη πολίτειον ἀνακυκλώσις· ⁽¹⁷⁾ αὕτη φύσεως οἰκονομία, καθ'
 ἣν μετὰβαλλει καὶ μεθίσταται, καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ
 κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας. Ταῦτα τις σαφῶς ἐπεγνώκως, χρο-
 νοῖς μὲν ἰσως διαμαρτυρῆσαι λέγων ὑπὲρ τὰ μελλόντων περι-
 πολίτειας· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῆς αὐξήσεως ἕκαστον ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς φθορᾶς, ἢ
 πρὸς μετασχησῆσαι, σπανίως ἀν διασφαλλοῖτο, ⁽¹⁸⁾ χωρὶς οὐ γῆς ἢ
 φθονὸς ποιεῖμεν τὴν ἀποφασιν. Καὶ μὴν περὶ γε τῆς Ρω-

(16) Καὶ μὴ δυνῶνται δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς
 ἰδίας ἀρετῆς τυγχάνειν τετῶν.] I have ta-
 ken the liberty to make two altera-
 tions in the text with regard to this
 sentence; the first is very obvious, all
 the editions have αὐτῶν, for which I
 have substituted αὐτῶν: The second,
 though not so obvious, may, possibly,
 appear as well founded. All the edi-

tions (not excepting Casaubon's) join
 τετῶν to διαφθεῖρσι τὰς ἑσίας; so that,
 according to them, the construction
 will run thus, οἱ ὁρμησάντες ἐπὶ τὸ φιλαρ-
 χεῖν, τετῶν διαφθεῖρσι τὰς ἑσίας, mean-
 ing their own fortunes, which must,
 no doubt, be the sense, but cannot be
 supported by this construction; to a-
 void this difficulty, therefore, I think

unable to obtain the power they aim at, by themselves, and their own merit, dissipate their wealth in alluring, and corrupting the people by every method: And when, to serve their wild ambition, they have once taught them to receive bribes and entertainments, from that moment the democracy is at an end, and changes to force and violence. For the people, being accustomed to live at the expence of others, and to place their hopes of a support in the fortunes of their neighbours, if headed by a man of a great and enterprising spirit, but who, through his poverty, is excluded from public offices, will then have recourse to violence; and, getting together, will murder, banish, and divide among themselves the lands of their adversaries, till grown wild with rage, they again find a master, and a monarch.

This is the rotation of governments, and this the order of nature, by which they are changed, transformed, and return to the same point. Whoever, therefore, is perfectly acquainted with these things, may, possibly, be mistaken in point of time, when he speaks of the future state of any government; but, if he gives his opinion without passion, or envy, he will seldom mistake in the degree of the encrease, or corruption of each, or in the change that attends them. This consideration, above all others, will lead us to the

there is a necessity of supposing *αρχαι* to be understood; to which *τῶτων* may very naturally be referred; unless the reader chuses rather to read *τοτε* instead of *τῶτων*.

(17) Αὕτη φύσεως οἰκονομία, καθ' ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μεθίσταται, καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας.] Thus rendered by the French translator; *Telle est la révolution des états, tel est l'ordre suivant lequel la nature change la forme des républiques.* This general

manner of rendering an expression of the same import has been already taken notice of in the 5th annotation: Upon this occasion, I shall only say that neither *révolution*, nor *changement* expresses the sense of *πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ*, which implies a *return to the former State*, since there may be a *revolution*, a *change*, without such a *return*.

(18) Χωρὶς οργῆς ἢ φόβου.] All the editions have *χωρὶς οργῆς ἀφθονῆς*, which is

μαιων πολιτειας καλα ταυτην την επισασιν μαλιστα αν ελθοιμεν
εις γνωσιν και της συσασεως, και της αυξησεως, ⁽¹⁹⁾ και της
ακμης· ὁμοίως δὲ και της εις τεμπαλιν εσομενης εκ τριτων με-
ταβολης. ει γαρ τινα και ἑτεραν πολιτειαν, ὡς αῖτιώς ειπα,
και ταυτην συμβαινει καλα φυσιν απ' αρχης εχασαν την συ-
σασιν, και την αυξησιν, καλα φυσιν ἔξειν και την εις τᾶνανηλια
μεταβολην. σκοπειν δ' εσαι δια των μετα ταυτα ρηθησομενων.
Νυν δ' επι βραχυ ποιησομεθα μνημην ὑπερ της Λυκαργα νο-
μοθεσιας· εσι γαρ εκ ανοικειος ὁ λογος της προθεσεως.

Εκεινος γαρ ἑκαστα των προειρημενων συνοψας αναγκαιώς
και φυσικώς επιτελεμενα, και συλλογισαμεν^Θ ὅτι παν ειδ^Θ
πολιτειας ἀπλυν και κατα μιαν συνεσηκως δυναμιν, επισφα-
λες γινῆναι, δια το ταχεως εις την οικειαν και φυσει παρεπο-
μενην εκτρεπεσθαι κακιαν. ⁽²⁰⁾ καθαπερ γαρ σιδηρῳ μεν ι^Θ,
ξύλοις δὲ θριπες και τερηδονες συμφυεισιν εἰσι λυμαι, δι' ὧν καὶ
πασας τας ἐξωθεν διαφυλῶσι βλαβας, ὑπ' αὐτων φθειροῦνται
των συγλενομενων· τον αυτον τροπον και των πολιτειων συγλ-
νῆναι καλα φυσιν ἑκαστη και παρεπέλαι τις κακια· βασιλεια μεν

scarce to be understood ; for which reason, I have ventured to read *η φθονε* instead of *αφθονε*. *Sans préjugé*, says the French translator, which is a translation of neither.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Και της ακμης.] *La splendeur*, in my opinion, does not express *ακμη*, since a thing may be in *splendor*, and not in its *perfection* ; this may, I think, with great propriety, be said of the very commonwealth our author is here speaking of, I mean That of the Romans, which, it is well known, was in

great splendor, both before it had arrived to its perfection, and after it was past it : This is so true that no other state ever attained so great power as the Roman commonwealth was possessed of above a century before it was in its perfection, and as long after it had passed it. So that, though its *splendor*, at both those periods, outshone that of all other states, when in their meridian, yet it was far outshone by itself, when arrived to that point.

⁽²⁰⁾ Καθαπερ γαρ σιδηρῳ μεν ι^Θ, ξύλοις

knowledge not only of the establishment, the encrease, and perfection of the Roman commonwealth, but also of its future return to its former state: For, as the original institution, and encrease of this commonwealth is, as much as any other, as I said before, founded on nature, so its future return to its former state is also founded on nature. This will appear from the following discourse: At present, we shall just take notice of the laws of Lycurgus; the consideration of which will not be improper to the present purpose.

He, therefore, observing that every thing, that has been said, was founded on necessity, and the laws of nature, concluded that every form of government that is simple, and consists but of one kind, by soon degenerating into that vice, that is allied to it, and naturally attends it, must be unstable: For, as rust is the natural bane of iron, and worms of wood, by which, as by inbred evils, though they escape all foreign mischief, they are sure to be destroyed; so, in like manner, there is a certain vice implanted by the hand of nature in every form of government, and by her

δε θριπες και τετηδονες συμφυεις εσι λυμυσι.] This fine thought has suffered very much in the hands of the French translator; he seems to have been misled by the word *συμφυεις*, which signifies *natural* or *allied to*, as well as *born with*; and, by taking it in the last sense, has made POLYBIUS betray an ignorance in French, which I am persuaded he was very incapable of in his own language: But, before I go any farther, let us hear what he says; this it is, *comme la Rouille naît avec le fer, & les vers avec le bois*: Now, it is certain that neither rust is *born* with iron, nor worms with wood; the first being

the effect of some, or of all the corrosive acid salts, with which the air is impregnated, and which are perpetually floating about in it, together with the attenuated particles, that are continually flying off from all other bodies; all which particles form a chaos, wherein I am persuaded every production of nature has its representative. And, as for worms, they are no more *born* with wood, than rust is with iron; worms make use indeed of wood for their protection, and, possibly, for their nourishment; but, if, from the toughness of its parts it is improper for the former, as the heart of oak, or from
ordained

ὁ μοναρχικὸς λεγόμενός τροπός, αριστοκρατία δὲ ὁ τῆς ολιγαρχίας, δημοκρατία δὲ ὁ θηριώδης καὶ χειροκρατικός· εἰς ἕς ἔχῃ οἷον τε μὴ ἔπαντα τὰ προειρημένα συν χρόνῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς μεταστροφάς κατὰ τὸν ἀρετὴ λόγον. ἂν προῖδόμενός Λυκέρης, ἔχῃ ἀπλὴν, ἔδε μονεῖσθαι συνέστησά τοι τὴν πολιτείαν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσας ὁμᾶ συνήθειζε τὰς ἀρετάς, καὶ τὰς ιδιότητας τῶν ἀρίστων πολιτευμάτων· ἵνα μηδὲν αὐξανόμενον ὑπὲρ τὸ δεόν εἰς τὰς συμφυεῖς ἐκτρέπηται κακίας· ἀνίσταμένης δὲ τῆς ἑκάστῃ δυνάμεως ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μηδ' αὖτε νύη, μηδ' ἐπὶ πολὺ κατάρρεπὴ μηδὲν αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἰσορροπεῖν καὶ ζυγισθῆμενον, ἐπὶ πολὺ διαμενῇ ⁽²¹⁾ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνιπλοίας λόγον αἰετὸ πολιτευμα· τῆς μὲν βασιλείας κωλυομένης ὑπερῆφανειν διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δῆμῃ φόβον, δεδομένης καὶ τῷ μερίδι ἱκανῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ· τῆς δὲ δῆμῃ παλιν μὴ θάρρυντός καταφρονεῖν τῶν βασιλέων, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γερόντων φόβον· οἱ κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἀριστῶνδην κεκρίμενοι πάντες ἐμὲλλον αἰετῷ δίκαιῳ προσνεμεῖν ἑαυτοῖς· ὥστε τὴν τῶν ἐλαττωμένων μερίδα διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐθέσιν ἐμμενεῖν, ταύτην αἰετὶ γινεσθαι μείζω, καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῇ τῶν γερόντων προσκλίσει καὶ ῥοπῇ. τοιγαρὶν ἔτω συστήταμενός, πλείστον ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν χρόνον διεφυλάξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Ἐκεῖνός μὲν

its bitter taste, for the latter, as the cedar, the worm seldom attacks it: So that, wood may be, and frequently is without worms; they are consequently not essential to, nor *born with*, it: And, that rust is not more essential to iron, nor *born with* it, appears from this; let a piece of iron be kept in a recipient inaccessible to all air, and

to the corrosive salts, with which it abounds, and it will be no more effected with rust, than gold, on which those salts have no power. As our language has no word to express either *θριπες* or *τερυδονες*, I have been obliged to comprehend them both under the general name of *worms*; if the reader pleases to turn to the 5th chapter of the 5th

ordained to accompany it : The vice of kingly government is monarchy, that of aristocracy, oligarchy ; and of democracy, rage and violence ; into which all of them, in process of time, must necessarily degenerate, in the manner I have mentioned. These inconveniences were foreseen by Lycurgus ; who, to avoid them, formed his government not of a simple nature, and of one sort, but united in one all the advantages, and properties of the best governments ; to the end that no branch of it, by swelling beyond its due bounds, might degenerate into the vice which is congenial to it ; and that, while each of them were mutually acted upon by opposite powers, no one part might incline any way, or outweigh the rest ; but that the commonwealth, being equally poised and ballanced, like a ship acted upon by contrary powers, might long remain in the same situation ; while the king was restrained from excess by the fear of the people, who had a proper share in the commonwealth ; and, on the other side, the people did not dare to disregard the king from their fear of the senate, who, being all elected for their virtue, would always incline to the justest side ; by which means, that branch which happened to be oppressed, this institution being observed, became always superior, and, by the accessional weight of the senate, out-ballanced the other. Lycurgus, therefore, having formed his commonwealth according to this system, preserved the Lacedæmo-

book of Theophrastus, he will there find these insects not only distinguished, but described. I am afraid *congenitæ pestes* in Casaubon is liable to the same exception.

(21) Κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀντιπλοίας λόγον] I do not remember ever to have met with ἀντιπλοία in any other author ; possibly, therefore, it may be, like

many other words in POLYBIUS, a term of his own coining, or, rather, of his own compounding : The Latin and French translators have understood it of a ship equally acted upon by contrary winds, which, I believe, the seamen will not allow ever to happen : I, at first thought it might signify a ship acted upon by contrary currents, which, nians

ἐν λόφῳ τινὶ προϊδόμενος, ⁽²²⁾ ποθεν ἕκαστα καὶ πῶς πεφυκε συμβαίνειν, ἀβλαβῶς συνεψησάτο τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ το μὲν τέλῳ ταῦτο πεποίηται τῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κάλασσεως, ἔ μὴν δια λόφῳ· δια δὲ πολλῶν αἰώνων καὶ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπίγνωσεως αἰετμένοι το βελτίον· ἔτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ ταῦτο μὲν Λυκαργῶ τέλῳ, καλλίσον δὲ σύστημα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτειῶν.

Δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἀγαθὸν κριτὴν ἔχ ἐκ τῶν παραλείπομενων δοκιμαζέειν τὰς γραφοντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν λεγόμενων. καὶ μὲν ἐν τούτοις τι λαμβάνη ψευδῶς, εἰδέναι διότι κακείνα ὠφθαλμῶν δὲ αἰνοῖαν· εἰ δὲ παντὸς λεγόμενον ἀληθές ἢ, συγχωρεῖν, διότι κακείνα ὠφθαλμῶν παταται κατὰ κρίσιν, ἔκ αἰνοῖαν.

Ἦν μὲν δὴ ⁽²³⁾ τρία μέρη τὰ κρατύντα τῆς πολιτείας, ἀπερ εἶπα πρότερον, ἀπάντα· ⁽²⁴⁾ ἔτω δὲ πάντα κατὰ μέρος ἰσῶς καὶ πρεπονίως συνετετακτο καὶ διώκετο δια τούτων, ὥστε μηδένα ποτ' ἀν εἶπειν δυνασθαι βεβαίως, μηδὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ποτερ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸ πολιτευμα ⁽²⁵⁾ συμπαν, ἢ δημοκρατικὸν, ἢ μοναρχικὸν· καὶ τούτ' εἰκότως ἦν πασχεῖν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν

though possible, is too uncommon to serve for a comparison; I would, therefore, suppose the ship to be rowed against the wind, or tide, or, rather, against both, which will have the effect here intended by POLYBIUS, that is, to keep it in the same wonderful situation: However, as the Greek text does not particularly describe the contrary powers, by the force of which the ship is kept in the same place, I have not thought it necessary to enter into that

particular in the translation.

⁽²²⁾ Ποθεν ἕκαστα, καὶ πῶς πεφυκε συμβαίνειν.] This is, I think, rendered too generally by the French translator, *prévoyant la cause & le temps de certains événements*.

⁽²³⁾ Τρία μέρη τὰ κρατύντα τῆς πολιτείας.] *Les trois sortes de gouvernements dont j'ay parlé composoient la république Romaine*, says the French translator, who, by rendering it thus, has left out τὰ κρατύντα τῆς πολιτείας, which is the

ὑπάρχων

nians in liberty longer than any other people we have heard of, ever enjoyed it: So that, he, by foreseeing from a certain way of reasoning, from whence, and, by what means, every thing naturally proceeds, guarded that commonwealth against every danger.

The Romans have arrived at the same end in forming their commonwealth, not indeed, by any chain of reasoning, but by weighing every incident, that offered itself in the many struggles, and difficulties they were engaged in, and always embracing that measure, which was most advantageous. By this means, they arrived at the same end, which Lycurgus attained, and formed the most glorious system of government now in being.

A good critic ought not to judge of a writer by those things he omits, but by those he relates; and, if he discovers any untruth in the latter, conclude that the former were omitted through ignorance: But, if every thing he relates be found true, let him grant that the others were omitted through choice, not ignorance.

All the three principal orders of government I have mentioned, were found in the Roman commonwealth; but every thing, in particular, was constituted and administered with that equality and propriety by these three, that it was not possible for any person, not even for a Roman citizen, to assert positively, whether the government, in the whole, was aristocratical, democratical, or monarchical; neither was this doubt ill founded: For, when we cast our eyes proper character of the three branches of government our author has been treating of.

(24) Οὕτω δὲ πάντα κατὰ μέρος ἰσῶς καὶ ὡς ἐπιτετακέναι συνέτετακτο καὶ διακείτο διὰ τῶν.] Toutes trois étoient tellement balancées l'une par l'autre. This is so far

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from being the sense of the original, that, had I not met with it in this place, I should not have imagined it was intended for a translation of it.

(25) Συμπαν.] The French translator says, *que personne, même parmi les Romains, ne pouvoit assurer, sans crainte*

H h h

on

ὑπατῶν ἀτεισάμεν ἐξουσίαν, τελείως μοναρχικὸν εἰσὶν εἶναι καὶ βασιλικὸν· ὅτε δὲ εἰς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου, πάλιν αἰσχροκρατικὸν. καὶ μὴν εἰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἐξουσίαν θεωροῖ τις, εἰδοκεῖ σαφῶς εἶναι δημοκρατικὸν. ὣν δ' ἕκαστον εἰδὼ μερῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκράτει, καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν ἐτι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπατοὶ πρὸ τῆς μὲν ἐξαίρου τὰ στρατοπέδῳ παρόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πᾶσιν εἰσι κυριοὶ τῶν δημοσίων πράξεις. οἱ τε γὰρ ἀρχόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ὑποτασσονται καὶ πειθαρχοῦσι τούτοις, πλὴν τῶν δημάρχων· εἰς τε τὴν συγκλήτου ἔτοι τὰς πρεσβείας ἀγχοῦ πρὸς δὲ τοῖς προεφημενοῖς, ἔτοι τὰ κατεπειγόντα τῶν διαβελίων ἀναδιδόασιν· ⁽²⁶⁾ ἔτοι τὸν ὅλον χειρισμὸν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτελοῦσι. καὶ μὴν ὅσα δὲ διὰ τῆς δημῶς συντελεῖσθαι τῶν πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀνηκόντων, τούτοις καθήκει φρονιζέειν, καὶ συναγεῖν αἰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ⁽²⁷⁾ τούτοις εἰσφέρειν τὰ δογματά, τούτοις βραβεύειν τὰ δοκυντα τοῖς πλείοσι. καὶ μὴν περὶ πολέμου κατασκευῆς, καὶ καθολῆς τῆς ἐν ὑπαίθεσις οἰκονομίας, σχεδὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν ἐξουσίαν

de se tromper, si le gouvernement y étoit aristocratique, ou populaire, ou monarchique. Thus, by leaving out *συμπαν*, the French translator has maimed this sentence; for, in reality, the Roman government was aristocratical, popular and monarchical, *in its parts*; but, *in the whole*, it was none of the three.

(26) Οὗτοι τὸν ὅλον χειρισμὸν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτελοῦσι.] *Le droit de faire les senatus-consultes leur appartient.* Whoever reads this, will, I dare say, conclude that the right of *making the decrees of*

the senate belonged to the consuls; which every body knows was not the case; neither does POLYBIUS say any more than that the consuls were *solely intrusted with the execution of the decrees of the senate.*

(27) Τούτοις εἰσφέρειν τὰ δογματά.] *D'y proposer ce dont il s'agit.* This is so loose a translation, and, at the same time, seems to imply so great an ignorance of the Roman constitution, that I am surpris'd a man of so great learning as the French translator, could

εἰσχοῦσι.

on the power of the consuls, the government appeared intirely monarchical and kingly ; when on That of the senate, aristocratical ; and, when any one considered the power of the people, it appeared plainly democratical. The several powers, which each of these orders then obtained, and still continues to obtain, with some few exceptions, are as follows.

The consuls, when they are at Rome, and before they take the field, have the administration of all public affairs : For all other magistrates are subject to, and obey, them, except the tribunes of the people : They introduce embassadors into the senate : They also propose to the senate those subjects of debate, that require immediate dispatch ; and are solely intrusted with the execution of their decrees : To them belongs the consideration of all public affairs, of which the people have cognizance ; whom they are to assemble upon all occasions, and lay before them the decrees of the senate, then pursue the resolutions of the majority. Besides this, the consuls have almost an absolute power in every thing, that relates either to the preparations of war, or to the conduct of it in the field : For they may give what

suffer it to escape from his pen. It is very well known that all laws were first proposed in the senate, before they were laid before the people, when assembled in the *comitia curiata*, or *centuriata*, though not in the *tributa* ; for which reason, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the rest of the Greek authors, who have written the Roman history, call a previous order of the senate, *προεζαγωγή* : The phrase made use of, upon these occasions, by the Latin authors, alludes to the same custom : Thus, after Livy has given an account of the design formed by

the Roman soldiers to surprise Capua, and very pathetically described their reconciliation with their fellow citizens, at the head of whom Valerius Corvus, as dictator, was sent to reclaim them : For it seems, the Romans were, at that time, unacquainted with civil slaughter, and unexperienced in all other wars but in Those against a foreign enemy : After this reconciliation, Valerius Corvus returned to Rome, where he got an act proposed in the senate, and, afterwards, passed by the people, for the impunity of the soldiers, who had formed the design upon Capua. Livy's

ἐχῶσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς τὸ δοκεῖν, καὶ τὰς
χιλίαρχους καθιστάναι, καὶ διαγραφῆναι τὰς στρατιώτας, καὶ δια-
λεῖν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύς, τούτοις ἐξέσι· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις,
ζημιῶσαι τῶν ὑποταττομένων ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθεσι, ὃν ἂν βελη-
θῶσι, κύριοι καθεσασιν· ἐξῶσι δ' ἐχῶσι καὶ δαπανᾶν τῶν
δημοσίων ὅσα προθεῖντο, παρεπομένους ταμίους, καὶ παντὸς προ-
σαχθέντος ἑτοιμῶς ποιεῖν. ὥς' εἰκοτὼς εἰπεῖν αὐν, ὅτε τις εἰς
ταύτην ἀποβλέψει τὴν μερίδα, διότι μοναρχικὸν ἅπλως καὶ
βασιλικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πολίτευμα. εἰ δὲ τίνα τούτων ἢ τῶν λεγέσθαι
μελλοντῶν ληψεται μεταθεσιν ἢ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, ἢ μετὰ τίνα
χρόνον, ἔσθ' ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὴν ἰὺν ὑφ' ὑμῶν λεγόμενην ἀποφασιν.

Και μὴν ἡ συγκλητὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐχει τὴν τὰ ταμίαις
κυρίαν. καὶ γὰρ τῆς εἰσόδου πασης αὕτη κρείται, καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου.
ᾧ δὲ ἀπλησιῶς. ὅτε γὰρ εἰς τὰς κατὰ μέρτιον χρείας ἔδεμναι
ποιοῦν ἐξόδον οἱ ταμίαι δύνανται χωρὶς τῶν τῆς συγκλητῆς δο-
μάτων, πλην τὴν εἰς τὰς ὑπάτους. τῆς δὲ ᾧ δὲ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων
ὀλοσχερεστάτης καὶ μεγίστης δαπάνης, ἣν οἱ τιμῆται ποιοῦσιν.
(28) εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων κατὰ

words are these, B. vii. c. 41. *diēlator equo citato ad urbem reveētus*, auctori-
bus patribus tulit ad populum ne cui
militum fraudi secessio esset. It is true
that, at other times, he applies these
words to the confirmation given by
the senate to the acts passed by the
people. But, whoever has read Livy
with attention, must be sensible that
this phrase is, upon many other occa-
sions, made use of by him to express
what the Greek Historians call *προβου-
λασμα*; and it is very possible that, if

he had translated this passage of POLYBIUS, as he has many others, he would have said *his, quorum patres auctores fuerant, ferre ad populum*, for *τέλοις εἰσφέρειν τὰ δογματά*. I am sensible that Dion Cassius, B. LV. distinguishes *δογμα* from *αγκτωριτας*, which word he makes use of, because, as he says, it is not possible to translate it into Greek; this *auctoritas* was a resolution of the senate passed when there was not a full house, that is, as many as the law required for the passing a *senatus-consultum*.

πενταετηριαν.

orders they please to their allies; and appoint the tribunes: They may raise forces, and enlist those who are proper for the service: They also have a power, when in the field, of punishing any who serve under them; and of expending as much as they please of the public money, being always attended by a quæstor for that purpose, whose duty it is to yield a ready obedience to all their commands: So that, whoever casts his eyes on this branch, may, with reason, affirm that the government is merely monarchical, and kingly. But, if any thing I have already mentioned, or may hereafter mention, shall, either now, or after some time, be altered, this ought not to affect the present relation.

The senate have, in the first place, the command of the public money: For they have the conduct of all receipts, and disbursements: Since the quæstors cannot issue money for any particular service, without a decree of the senate, except those sums they pay by the direction of the consuls. The senate have also the power over all those disbursements, that are made by the censors every fifth year in

tum, which, with POLYBIUS, he calls *δογμα*: But this will not invalidate any thing that has been said, when it is considered that the law he speaks of was instituted by Augustus, who, as Dion tells us in the same place, when he fixed the number of senators, whose presence should be necessary for enacting decrees of every kind, appointed the particular days, on which they were to assemble; and, in order to oblige the senators to be present on those days, encreased the fine, to which such as absented themselves without a lawful excuse, were before liable. This was in the year of Rome 743,

Claudius Nero Drusus, and T. Quintius Crispinus being consuls; the same year Drusus died, which some will have to have been the year 741 of Rome.

(28) *Εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς.*
Aux réparations, in the French translator, very well expresses the first; but what becomes of *κατασκευὰς*? that, it seems, is omitted: This deserves the more to be taken notice of, because, when the same expression is afterwards repeated by our author, the same translator says very properly, *érection de nouveaux édifices, réparation des anciens*: So that, I must look upon the former in the same light every candid reader repairing

πενταετηρείαν ταύτης ἡ συγκλητὴ ἐστὶ κυρία, καὶ διὰ ταύτης γίνεται τὸ συγχωρημα τοῖς τιμηταῖς. ὁμοίως καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν ⁽²⁹⁾ προσδείται δημοσίας ἐπισκεψέως· λεγώ δὲ οἷον προδοσίας, συνωμοσίας, φαρμακείας, δολοφονίας, τῇ συγκλητῇ μέλει περὶ τούτων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ τις ιδιώτης ἢ πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαλύσεως ἢ ἐπιτιμῆσεως, ἢ βοήθειας, ἢ φυλάκης προσδεῖται, τῶν πάντων ἐπιμελὲς ἐστὶ τῇ συγκλητῇ. καὶ μὴν εἰ τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τινὰς ἐξαποσέλλειν δεοὶ πρεσβείαν τινὰ, ἢ διαλύσαν τινὰς, ἢ ᾤδα καλεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία ἐπιταξάν, ἢ ᾤδα ληψομένην, ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐπαγγέλλαν, αὕτη ποιεῖται τὴν προνοιαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ᾤδαγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβειῶν ὡς δεόν ἐσιν ἕκαστοις χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὡς δεόν ἀποκριθῆναι, πάντα ταῦτα χειρίζεται διὰ τῆς συγκλητῆς. πρὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον καθαπαξ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τῶν προειρημένων. ἐξ ὧν πάλιν ὅποτε τις ἐπιδῆμῃσιν μὴ παρόντος ὑπάτερος, τελείως αἰσοκρατικὴ φαίνεται ἡ πόλις. ὁ δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων πεπεισμένοι τυγχάνουσι, διὰ τὸ τὰ σφῶν πράγματα σχεδὸν πάντα πρὸς τὴν συγκλητὴν κυρεῖν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων τίς ἐκ αὐτῶν εἰκοτὼς ἐπιζητήσει ποῖα καὶ τίς ποτε ἐστὶν ἡ τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ ἀλλειπομένη μερὶς ἐν τῷ πολιτευματί; τῆς μὲν συγκλητῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ὧν εἰρηκαμὲν κυρίας ὑπαρχούσης, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς εἰσοδῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξοδῆς χειριζομένης ἀπάσης; τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν ὑπάτων πάλιν αὐτοκράτορα μὲν ἐχούτων δύναμιν περὶ τὰς τῶν πολέμων ᾤδα-

ought to view it, that is, as a slip of the memory only.

σκευας,

repairing, and erecting public buildings, which are of all others the greatest, and the most considerable; and, for which, the cenfors must have the allowance of the senate. This order also takes cognizance of all crimes committed in Italy, that require a public inspection, such as treasons, conspiracies, poisonings, and assassinations. Moreover, if any private person, or city in Italy stands in need of an accommodation, animadversion, relief, or defence, all these are within the province of the senate: And, if it is necessary to send an embassy out of Italy to reconcile differences, to use exhortation, or, indeed, to signify a command, to admit an alliance, or declare war, the senate has the care of these things. In like manner, when ambassadors come to Rome, the senate determines in what manner they are to be treated, and what answer is to be given to them. Nothing that has been mentioned belongs to the people: For these reasons, again, when a foreigner comes to Rome in the absence of the consuls, the government appears to him purely aristocratical: Which opinion prevails with several of the Greeks, and also with several kings, because almost all their transactions with the Romans are ratified by the senate.

From what has been said, who would not have reason to ask what share in the government, and of what nature that share is, which is left to the people? Since the senate is invested with all the particular powers already mentioned, and with the greatest of all, the conduct of all receipts and disbursements; and since, on the other side, the consuls, as generals, have an absolute power in regard both to the prepa-

(29) Οσα—προσδεταί δημοσίας ἐπιμε-
ψεως.] Qui méritent une punition pub-
lique, is not, in my opinion, the sense

of this passage; because it confounds
the inquiry into a crime with the punish-
ment of it.

σκευας, αυτοκρατορα δε την εν τοις υ̐παιθροις εξουσιαν;
 (30) ου μην αλλα καταλειπεται μερις και τῷ δημῷ, και κατα-
 λειπεται γε βαρυστη. (31) Τιμης γαρ εσι και τιμωριας εν
 τη πολιτεια μονῷ ὁ δημῷ κυριῷ· οἷς συνεχον̄ται μονοις και
 δυνασται, και πολιτεια, και συλληβδην πας ὁ των ανθρωπων
 βιῷ. παρ' οἷς γαρ η μη γνωσκεισθαι συμβαινει την τοιαυτην
 διαφοραν, η γνωσκομενην χειριζεσθαι κακως, παρα τουτοις
 ουδεν οἷον τε καλα λογον διοικεισθαι των υ̐φεστων. πως γαρ
 εικος; (32) εν ἰσῇ τιμῇ οντων των αγαθων τοις κακοις. κρινει
 μεν εν ὁ δημῷ και διαφορα πολλακις, ὕταν αξιοχρεων η το
 τιμημα της αδικιας, και μαλιστα τας τας επιφανεις εσχηκο-
 τας αρχας. θανατος δε κρινει μονος. και γινεται τι περι ταυ-
 την την χρειαν παρ' αυτοις αξιον επαινος και μνημης. τοις
 γαρ θανατου κρινομενοις επαν καλαδικαζων̄ται, διδωσι την
 εξουσιαν το παρ' αυτοις εἶθ' απαλλαττεσθαι φανερωσ, κᾱν
 ετι μια λειπηται φυλη των επικυρουσων την κρισιν αψηφοφο-
 ρητῷ, εκασιον ε̄αυτου καταγνο̄ν̄τα φυγαδειαν. εσι δ' ασφαλεια

(30) Ου μην αλλα καταλειπεται μερις και τῷ δημῷ, και καταλειπεται γε βαρυστη.] *Cependant le peuple a sa part, & une part très-considérable; not only très-considérable, but la plus considérable; which is the plain import of the text, and stands confirmed by the whole tenor of the Roman history, but more so by their conquests.*

(31) Τιμης γαρ εσι και τιμωριας εν τη πολιτεια μονος ὁ δημο̄ς κυριος.] *Il est seul maitre des récompences & des peines, says the French translator. Casaubon has rendered it in the same sense, solus in civitate populus præmii & pænæ est ar-*

biter. I am sorry I am obliged to differ from them both. In the first place, I do not remember ever to have met with the word τιμη for a reward; 2dly, I think it manifest that it cannot be taken in that sense upon this occasion, if one considers what follows; which, in my opinion, is always the surest method of coming at the sense of an author: POLYBIUS then, after he has told us that the people have the sole power of honors, and of punishments, gives the particular instances, wherein they exercise that power; he begins with punishments, and tells us

rations of war, and, when in the field, to the management of it. Notwithstanding all this, there is still a share in the government left for the people, and that the most considerable: For they only have the power of distributing honors, and punishments; to which alone both monarchies and commonwealths, and, in a word, all human institutions owe their stability: For, wherever the difference between those two is not understood, or, being understood, is injudiciously applied, there nothing can be properly administered. How should it, since the worthy, and unworthy are equally honoured? The people, therefore, often take cognizance even of those causes, where the fine to be imposed is considerable, particularly, where the criminals are persons, who have exercised great employments: But, in capital cases, they alone have jurisdiction; concerning which, there is a custom among them worthy to be remembered with commendation: This custom gives to those, who are tried for their lives, the power of departing openly, and of condemning themselves to a voluntary banishment pending the trial, provided there remains one tribe, that has not yet given its vote; and the banished person may live in safety either at

that they take cognizance of those causes, where the fine is considerable, particularly, where the criminals have exercised great employments; and that they alone have the power of life and death. He then says that the people have also the right of conferring the magistracy on those they think worthy of it, και μην τας αρχας ο δημος διδωσι τοις αξιουσι. Where, I think it is evident that αρχαι is designed by our author to explain τιμη before mentioned, and αθλον, which immediately follows, to signify *des récompences*.

(32) Εν ιση τιμη οντων των αγαθων τοις

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νακοις.] This seems to be a paraphrase of the following verse of Homer, who puts this complaint into the mouth of Achilles,

Εν δε ιη τιμη ημεν καιος, ηδε και εοθλος.

Il. I. ver. 319.

Whoever has read POLYBIUS with attention must be sensible that, upon many occasions, he shews himself very well acquainted with Homer. It is astonishing with what respect, I may say, veneration, the greatest authors of antiquity speak of that great man; and that not only poets, but orators, and historians propose him as their

I i i

Naples,

τοῖς Φευσίν ἐν τε τῇ Νεαπολίτῳ καὶ Πραίνεσιν, ἐτι δὴ Τιβερηνῶν πόλει, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πρὸς αἷς ἔχουσιν ὄρκια. Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ δῆμος δίδωσι τοῖς ἀξίοις· ὅπερ ἐστὶ καλλίστον ἄθλον ἐν πολιτείᾳ καλοκαγαθίας. ἔχει δὲ τὴν κυρίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων δοκιμασίας. ⁽³³⁾ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης οὗτος βεβλῦνται καὶ πόλεμος. Καὶ μὴν περὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ συνθηκῶν, ἕτος ἐστὶν ὁ βεβαίων ἕκαστα τούτων, καὶ κυρία ποιῶν ἢ τὸ ἐναντίον. ὥστε πάλιν ἐκ τούτων εἰκοτὼς ἂν τίνα εἴπῃ ὅτι μέγιστον ὁ δῆμος ἔχει μερίδα, καὶ δημοκρατικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πολίτευμα.

model in their respective kinds of writing. And, indeed, the sentiment, which is the subject of this annotation, was long before copied from Homer by Xenophon, who makes Chryfantas say, Καὶ τοὶ ἐγὼ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀνισώτερον νομίζω τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, τὰ τῶν ἰσῶν τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιόσθαι. Ἐν Κυρῶ παιδεία. B. 2. p. 128. Ed. of Hutch.

(33) Καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἔστι βεβλῦνται καὶ πόλεμος.] As the French translator has differed from Casaubon in rendering this passage, and I from both; and, as not only a point of criticism, but the most important branch of the power of the Roman people is concerned in this question, I hope I shall be allowed to extend this annotation to a more than ordinary length, in order to prove, 1st, That βεβλῦνται, in this place, does not signify, with Casaubon, *deliberat*, nor, which the French translator, *on le consulte*, but that they *determine*; 2dly, That the people of Rome had the power of making peace and war. As to the first, though I could prove the word

to have that sense by many passages out of the best authors, yet I shall content myself with the following one from Thucydides, not only because it plainly proves that βεβλῦνται signifies to *determine* or *resolve*, but also because it conveys a sentiment very agreeable to the exalted genius of the people, to whom it was delivered, and to the envied situation of the person, who delivered it. The passage I mean is at the close of that fine speech, which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles, when he exhorts the Athenians to support themselves with magnanimity under the twofold evils, with which they were then oppressed, namely, the Peloponnesian war, and the plague; it is this, ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ μέγιστοισι τοῖς ἐπιφθονοῦσι λαμβάνει, οὕτως βεβλῦνται, *whoever incurs envy for things of the greatest moment, wisely determines*; or, if the reader prefers the translation of Hobbes, *he does well that undergoeth hatred, for matters of great consequence*; but the reason Pericles, or, rather, Thucydides gives for this is so strong,

Τίνα

Naples, Præneſte, or Tibur, or in any other city in alliance with the Romans. The people alſo have the power of conferring the magiſtracy upon thoſe they think worthy of it ; which is the moſt honourable reward of merit any government can beſtow. Beſides this, they have the power of rejecting, or confirming laws ; and, what is the moſt conſiderable of all, they determine concerning peace and war ; and alſo, concerning alliances, accommodations, and conventions ; every one of theſe the people may either ratify, or annul : So that, from hence again, one may, with reaſon, aſſert that the people have the greateſt ſhare in the government, and that the commonwealth is democratical.

and ſo beautifully expreſſed, that I cannot help tranſcribing it, though it is nothing to the point I am treating of ; *μισος μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνέχει· ἡ δὲ παρὰ νῦν τε λαμπρότης, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπειτα δοῖα αἰμυνησὸς καταλείπεται ; for the hatred flowing from it does not laſt long, while both the preſent luſtre, and the future glory remain for ever to be celebrated : But, for the ſake of thoſe who deſervedly admire Hobbes, I ſhall add alſo his tranſlation ; for the hatred laſteth not, and is recompenced both with a preſent ſplendor, and an immortal glory hereafter. I ſhall next endeavour to ſhew that, by the Roman conſtitution, the power of peace and war was in the people ; the authority I ſhall quote, upon this occaſion, will be that of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, B. vi. and of Livy, who, with POLYBIUS, are of all other hiſtorians, the moſt to be depended on. The firſt then, when the ſeceſſion of the people, which ended in the eſta bliſhment of their tribunes, was agitated in the ſenate, makes the conſuls of the year ſpeak to that aſ-*

ſembly, in the following manner ; 156
δη πᾶς νομον ἡμῖν ὑπαρχοντα ἐξ ἧς τῆνδε οἰ-
κῶμεν τὴν πόλιν, πάντων εἶναι κυρίαν τῶν
βελήν, πᾶν ἀρχαὸς ἀποδείξαι, καὶ νόμους
ψηφισαὶ καὶ πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, ἢ τὸν συν-
εῶτα κάλῃ αὐσαοῦναι. τῶν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸν
δημόν εἶναι τῶν ἐξουσίαν ψηφόν ἐπιφέρειντα.
You are ſenſible that we have a law as
old as the city we inhabit, by which the
ſenate have the power of every thing be-
ſides the creation of magiſtrates, the en-
acting of laws, and declaring of war,
or putting an end to it, when declared ;
which three things the people have a
right to determine by their ſuffrages.
 And, that this right was not nominal only, but fully exerciſed by the people upon all occaſions, appears from as many inſtances in their hiſtory, as there are examples of their having declared war with prudence, proſecuted it with courage, and concluded it with ſucceſs. However, I ſhall ſelect two of them, not only becauſe they will, beyond all contradiction, eſta bliſh the truth of what I have advanced, but alſo, becauſe the two wars I ſhall

Τίνα μὲν ἐν τρόπῳ διηγήσασθαι τὰ τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἕκαστον εἶδος, εἰρήναι· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἀντιπράττειν βεβλήθῃ, καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις πάλιν ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν δύνασθαι, νυνὶ ῥηθήσεται.

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπάλθευς ἐπειδὴν τυχὼν τῆς προειρημένης ἐξουσίας ὁρμήσῃ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, δοκεῖ μὲν αυτοκράτωρ εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων συνέλευσιν· προσδίδται δὲ τὰ δῆμος, καὶ τῆς συγκλήτης, καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἐπὶ τελευτᾷ ἀγεῖν τὰς πράξεις ἔχῃ ἱκανὸς ἐστὶ· δῆλον γὰρ, ὥς δεῖ μὲν ἐπιπεμπέσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις αἰετὰς χορηγίας· ἀνευ δὲ τῆς συγκλήτης βεβλήματος ἔτε σίλος, ἔτε ἰματισμός, ἔτε σφῶνια δύνασθαι χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις· ὥς ἀπρακτὰς γινέσθαι τὰς ἐπιβόλας τῶν ἡγχομένων, ⁽³⁴⁾ ἐθελοκακεῖν καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖν προθεμένης τῆς συγκλήτης. Καὶ μὴν το γ' ἐπιτελεῖς ἢ μὴ γινέσθαι τὰς ἐπινοίας, καὶ προθεσεῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κείται. τὰ γὰρ ἐπαποσεῖλαι στρατηγὸν ἕτερον, ἐπειδὴν ἐνιαυσίος διελθῇ

mention were of the greatest consequence to the Romans, the conclusion of the first having freed them from the fears of a dangerous rival, I mean Carthage; and the second having been undertaken against Philip of Macedon, a kingdom, which a long possession of power had rendered venerable, and a great encrease of it formidable.

After the successes of Scipio in Africa had extorted a submission from the Carthaginians, Livy, Book xxx, chap. 43, tells us the Romans were inclined to peace; upon which occasion he says; Tum Man. Acilius & Q. Minucius tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt, vellent, juberentne senatum decernere, ut cum Carthaginensibus pax fieret; & quem eam pacem.

dare, quemque ex Africâ exercitus deportare juberent: de pace uti rogassent, omnes tribus jufferunt: pacem dare P. Scipionem, eundem exercitus deportare. Then Man. Acilius, and Q. Minucius, tribunes of the people, asked the opinion of the people whether they desired and commanded the senate to decree that peace should be made with the Carthaginians; and whom they thought fit to order to make that peace, and whom to transport the armies out of Africa: Concerning the peace, all the tribes voted for the affirmative, and ordered P. Scipio to make the peace, and transport the armies. This passage wants no comment, the next will as little stand in need of one.

The same author tells us, Book

Having shewn in what manner the commonwealth is divided into the several orders, we shall now shew in what manner each of these orders may oppose, and assist one another.

The consul, being invested with the command I have mentioned, and in the field at the head of the army, seems to have an absolute power to carry every thing he proposes into execution ; yet he still stands in need of the people, and senate, and, without their assistance, can affect nothing : For it is manifest that supplies of all kinds must from time to time be sent to the army, which, without the consent of the senate, can be furnished neither with corn, clothes, nor their pay : So that, the designs of the generals must prove abortive, whenever the senate, by wilfully neglecting their duty, oppose the execution of them. It is also in the breast of the senate whether the schemes and plans of the general shall be accomplished, or not : For the senate has the power of sending another general to succeed him, as soon

xxxii, chap. 6, that P. Sulpicius, one of the consuls for the year, asked the opinion of the people, *vellent, juberent Philippo regi Macedonibusque, qui sub regno ejus essent, ob injurias, armaque illata sociis populi Romani, bellum indici.* *Whether they were willing and ordered that, in consideration of the injuries, and hostilities committed against the allies of the people of Rome, war be declared against king Philip, and the Macedonians his subjects.* Upon which, Livy says that the people, being then tired out with the length and dangers of the Carthaginian war, almost all the centuries rejected the motion the first time they were assembled upon that occasion : But, upon the

consul representing how great a damage and disgrace a delay in declaring the war would prove to them, they gave their affirmative for it. *Ab hac oratione in suffragium missi, uti rogaret, bellum jufferunt.* These instances prove, beyond contradiction, that the people of Rome did something more than *deliberate* concerning peace and war.

(34) *Εβελονακειν και κωλυσιεργειν προθεμενης της συγκλητης.*] *Si le sénat n'entre pas dans leurs vûes, ou y met opposition.* The first part of this translation does not, in my opinion, express the sense of *εβελονακειν*, which implies a *voluntary neglect of duty*, as Suidas explains it ; *Εβελονακησαι' ευσσιως ελεσθαι το κακον.* And, indeed, this is the sense, in which all authors use the word.

χρονος, η τον υπαρχοντα ποιειν επιμονον, εχει την κυριαν αυτη. Και μην τας επιτυχιας των ηττημενων εκτραγωδησαι και συναυξησαι, και παλιν αμαυρωσαι, και ταπεινωσαι, το συνεδριον εχει την δυναμιν. τες γαρ προσαγορευομενες παρ' αυτοις θριαμβες, δι' ων υπο την οψιν αζεται τοις πολιταις υπο των στρατηγων η των καλειρτασμενων πραγματων εναρξια· τες δε δυναται χειριζειν ως πρεπει, ποτε δε τοπαρχαν δε συλλειν, εαν μη το συνεδριον συγκαταβηται, και δω την εις ταυτα δαπανην. τε γε μην δημα το διαλυεσθαι· και λιαν αυτοις αναγκαιον εστι, καν ολως απο της οικιας τυχωσι πολυν τοπον αφεσωτες. ο γαρ τας διαλυσεις και συνθηκας ακυρες και κυριας ποιων, ως επανω προειπον, ετος εστιν. το δε μεγιστον, αποτιθεμενες την αρχην, εν τετω δει τας ευθυνας υπεχειν των πεπραγμενων. ωσε καλα μηδενα τροπον ασφαλεις ειναι τοις στρατηγοις ολιγωρειν μητε της συκλητε, μηε της τε πληθους ευνοιας.

Η γε μην συκλήτος παλιν η τηλικαυτην εχουσα δυναμιν, πρωτον μεν εν τοις κοινοις πραγμασιν αναγκαζεται προσεχειν τοις πολλοις, και σοχαζεσθαι τε δημα· τας δ' ολοχερεστας και μεγιστας ζητησεις, και διορθωσεις των αμαρτανομενων καλα της πολιτειας, οίς θανατος ακολουθει το προσιμον, ε δυναται συλλειν· αν μη συνεπικυρωση το προβεβουλευμενον ο δημος. ομοιως δε και περι των εις ταυτην αιηκοντων· εαν γαρ τις εισφερη νομον η της εξουσιας αφαιρεσμενος τι της υπαρχουσης τη συκλητω καλα τους εθισμους, η τας προεδrias και τιμας καταλυων αυτων, η και τη Δια ποιων ελαττωματα

as the year is expired, or of continuing him in the command. Again, the senate may either magnify, and extol, or, on the other side, obscure, and extenuate the victories of the generals : For these cannot celebrate their triumphs, as they call them, (in which the representations of their successes are carried in pomp before the eyes of the people) with proper magnificence, sometimes, not even at all, unless the senate consents to it, and furnishes the necessary expence. Then, as the power of putting an end to the war is in the people, the generals are under a necessity of having their approbation, though they happen to be never so far from home : For, as I said above, the people have the right of ratifying, and annulling all accommodations, and conventions ; and, which is of the greatest importance, it is to the people that the generals, after the expiration of their command, give an account of their conduct : So that, it is, by no means, safe for them to disregard the favor either of the senate, or of the people.

On the other side, the senate, though vested with so great power, is under a necessity of shewing a regard to the people in the first place, and of aiming at their approbation in every thing relating to the public ; as not having the power to take cognizance of crimes of the first magnitude, or to punish those, which are committed against the state, with death, unless the people confirm the previous decree they make for that purpose. In like manner, the regulation even of those things, which particularly affect the senate, belongs also to the people : For, if any person proposes a law, by which part of their power, as founded on custom, is to be
taken

περι τῆς βίβης, πάντων ὁ δῆμος γινεται τῶν τοιγῶν καὶ θείναι, καὶ μὴ, κύριος. το δὲ συνεχόν, εἰς ἐνίστηται τῶν δημαρχῶν ἔχ οἶον ἐπὶ τέλος αἶν τι δύναται τῶν διαβελίων ἢ συγλητῶ. ἀλλ' ἔδε συνεδρεῦειν ἢ συμπορευεῖσθαι τοπαραπαν. Οφειλουσι δὲ αἰ ποιεῖν οἱ δημαρχοὶ το δοκουν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ μαλιστα σοχαζεῖσθαι τῆς τουτου βουλευσεως. διὸ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων χάριν δέδωκε τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ προσεχει τὸν νοὺν τῷ δήμῳ ἢ συλῆλος.

Ὁμοίως γε μὴν παλιν ὁ δῆμος ὑποχρεῶς ἐστὶ τῇ συλῆτῃ, καὶ σοχαζεῖσθαι ταύτης οφειλῶν, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐργῶν οὐλῶν τῶν ἐκδιδόμενων ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν διαπάσης Ἰταλίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ καλῶσκευὰς τῶν δημῶσιων, αἵ τις οὐκ ἀν ἐξαριθμηταῖο ῥαδίως· πολλῶν δὲ πόλεων, λιμενῶν, κηπιῶν, μέγαλλων, χωρᾶς· συλληθῆν ὅσα πεπλῶκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν· πάντα χειρίζεται συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ πληθους· καὶ σχεδόν, ὥς ἐπος εἰπείν, πάντας ἐνδεδεῖσθαι ταῖς ὠναις καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφοραζουσι παρὰ τῶν τιμητῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐκδοσεις, οἱ δὲ κοινωνουσι τουτοῖς· οἱ δ' ἐγγυῶνται τοὺς ἡγορακοτάς· οἱ δὲ τὰς οὐσίας δίδωσιν περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δημοσίον. ἔχει δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων τὴν κυρίαν τὸ συνεδρίον. καὶ γὰρ χρόνον δύναι, καὶ συμπλωματῶ γενομένου κουφισαί, καὶ τοπαραπαν ἀδυνατοῦ τινῶ συμβαίῃ ἀπολυσθαι τῆς ἐργωνίας. καὶ πολλὰ δὴ τινὰ ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς καὶ βλαπτει μέγαλα, καὶ παλιν ὠφελεῖ τοὺς τὰ δημοσία χειρίζοντας ἢ συγλητῶ. ἢ γὰρ ἀναφορὰ τῶν προειρημένων γινέται πρὸς ταύτην· το δὲ με-

taken away, or their preeminence, or dignities to be abolished, or even their fortunes to be diminished, every thing of this kind, I say, the people have it in their power either to receive, or reject: And farther, if one of the tribunes of the people opposes the passing of a decree, the senate are so far from being able to enact it, that it is not even in their power to consult, or assemble at all: And it is the duty of the tribunes to act agreeably to the sense of the people, and to observe their pleasure. For all these reasons, the senate stands in awe of the people, and pays a regard to them.

In like manner, the people are also subject to the power of the senate, and under an obligation of cultivating the good will of all the senators in general, and of every one of them in particular: For, there being many works put out by the censors throughout all Italy, relating to the repairing, and erecting of public buildings, of which it is not easy to give an account, and also many rivers, ports, gardens, mines, and lands let out by them, and, upon the whole, whatever falls under the power of the Romans: It happens that all these are undertaken by the people; and, consequently, that almost all of them are engaged either in these undertakings, or in the works, that are consequent to them: For some are themselves the purchasers of these undertakings from the censors; others are their partners; some are sureties for the purchasers; and others make assignments to the public of their fortunes for the performance of these contracts; now, all these things are under the controul of the Senate, which has power to give time, or, in case of misfortune, to mitigate the sum due; and, if any thing has happened to render the performance of the contract impracticable, absolutely to cancel it: So that, the senate has many opportu-

γίσιον, εκ ταυτης αποδιδονται κριται των πλειων και των δημοσιων και των ιδιωτικων συναλλαγματων, ὅσα μετέχει
 εχει των ἐγκληματων· διο πάντες εις την ταυτης πισιν ενδεδε-
 μενοι, και δεδιότες το της χρειας ἀδηλον, ευλαβως εχσσι
 προς τας εντασεις, και τας αντιπραξεις των της συκλητης
 βεβληματων. Ομοιως δὲ και προς τας των ὑπατων επιβο-
 λας δυσχερως αντιπραττουσιν, δια το κατ' ἴδιαν και κοινῇ
 πάντες εν τοις ὑπαιθεροις ὑπο την ἐκεινων πιπλιν ἐξῆσιαν.

Τοιαυτῆς δ' ούσης τῆς ἑκάστῃ τῶν μερῶν δυνάμεως, εἰς το-
καὶ βλαπτὲν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις· πρὸς πασὰς συμβαίνει
τὰς περιστάσεις δέοντως εἶχεν τὴν ἀρμογὴν αὐτῶν· ὥστε μὴ
οἶον τ' εἶναι ταύτης εὖρεν ἀμεινῶ πολιτείας συστάσιν. ὅταν
μὲν γὰρ τις ἐξώθεν κοινὸς φόβος ἐπίσας ἀναγκάσῃ σφας συμ-
φρονεῖν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις, τηλικαυτὴν καὶ τοιαυτὴν συμ-
βαίνει γινέσθαι τὴν δυνάμιν τῆς πολιτευμαλῆτος, ὥστε μὴδὲ πα-
ραλειπεῖσθαι τῶν δεινῶν μηδὲν, ἅτε περὶ τὸ προσπεσον ἀει-
πάντων ὅμῃ ταῖς ἐπινοαῖς ἀμιλλωμένων· μήτε τὸ κριθεὶν ὑπε-
ρεῖν τῆς καίρας, κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστῃ συνεργῶν, πρὸς
τὴν τῆς προκειμένης συντελείαν. (35) διόπερ ἀνυποσάλλον συμβαί-
νει γινέσθαι, καὶ πάντως ἐφικνεῖσθαι τῆς κριθείδος τὴν ιδιότητα
τῆς πολιτευμαλῆτος. ὅταν γὰρ μὴν πάλιν ἀπολυθέντες τῶν ἐκτὸς
φόβων ἐνδιατρίβωσι ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ περισσίαις ταῖς ἐκ τῶν.

(35) Διοπερ ανυποσάλον συμβαινει γινεσθαι, και παντος εφικνεσθαι τε κριθελος την ιδιοτητα τε πολιτεματος.] *C'est pour cela que cette république est invincible, & qu'elle vient à bout de tout ce qu'elle en-*

treprend. By this means, the French translator has left out the very thing POLYBIUS has been all along contending for, which is, that the great advantages the Roman commonwealth

κατορθωμάτων,

nities both of prejudicing considerably, and of advantaging those, who have the management of these public undertakings: For the report of all these things is made to the senate: And, what is still of the greatest moment, judges are appointed out of the senate in most of the causes, that relate either to public, or private contracts, when the action is of importance: For which reason, all the people, being engaged in a dependence upon the senate, and apprehending the uncertainty of the occasions, in which they may stand in need of their favor, they dare not resist, or oppose their will. In like manner, they are not easily brought to obstruct the designs of the consuls, because all of them in general, and every one in particular, become subject to their authority, when in the field.

Such, therefore, being the power of each order, both to hurt, and assist one another, it follows that their union is sufficiently adapted to all contingencies; for which reason, it is not possible to invent a more perfect system of government: For, when the common fear of a foreign enemy compels them to act in concert, and assist one another, such, and so great is the strength of the government, that nothing is either omitted, that is necessary; since, upon every occasion, all vie with one another in directing their thoughts to the good of the public, or, being once resolved, comes too late for the end proposed; since all of them in general, and every one in particular, unite their endeavours in carrying their designs into execution: For these reasons, their commonwealth, from the peculiar frame of it, becomes irresistible, and attains whatever it proposes. On the other side, when

was possessed of, were owing to the *peculiar frame* of its constitution, which he has expressed, in a manner one

would think not to be overlooked, by
την ιδιοτητα τῆς πολιτείας.

κατορθωμάτων, απολαυνόντες της ευδαιμονίας, και ὑποκολλαε-
 ομενοι και ῥαθυμχντες τρεπώλαι προς ὕβριν, και προς ὑπερη-
 φανιαν, ὃ δη φιλει γίνεσθαι· τότε και μαλιστα συνιδεῖν ἐσι
 αὐτο παρ' αὐτῶ ποριζομενον το πολιτευμα την βοηθειαν· ἐπει-
 δαν γαρ ἐξοιδ'εν τι των μερων φιλονεικη, και πλεον τε δεον-
 τος επικρατηται· δηλον ὡς ἑδενος ἀρτιτελ'ος οντος, καλῶ τον
 ἀρ'ι λογον, αντισπαδαι δε και παραποδίζεσθαι δύναμενης
 της ἑκάστῃ προθεσεως ὑπ' αλληλων, ἑδεν ἐξοιδει των μερων,
 ἑδ' ὑπερφρονει· παντα γαρ ἐμμενει τοῖς ὑποκειμενοις, τα μεν
 κωλυομενα της ὀρμης, τα δε ἐξ ἀρχης δεδίοτα την ἐκ τε πε-
 λας ἐπισασιν.

free from the fear of a foreign enemy, they live in prosperity and affluence, the consequences of victory, enjoying their good fortune, and, through flattery and ease, grow insolent and proud, which usually happens ; then, is their commonwealth chiefly observed to relieve itself : For, when any branch of it, swelling beyond its bounds, becomes ambitious, and aims at unwarrantable power, it is manifest that, no one of them being, as I have said, absolute, but the designs of each subject to the contradiction, and controul of the other two, no one can run into any excess of power, or arrogance : But all three must remain in the terms prescribed by the constitution, either, by being defeated in their attempts to exceed them, or, by being prevented, through the fear of the other two, from attempting it.

A
 DISSERTATION
 UPON THE
 CONSTITUTION
 OF THE
 ROMAN SENATE.

IT were to be wished that POLYBIUS had looked upon the constitution of the Roman senate to have as properly belonged to his subject, as the powers of it: Had he been of that opinion, there is no room to doubt, but he would have given us such an exact account of it, as would have cleared up all the difficulties, that occur in reading the ancient authors. It is very probable that he looked upon this subject as too well known to stand in need of a discussion; in the same manner as an English historian would possibly judge it needless to give an account of the qualifications required by our laws and customs, to intitle a person to a seat in either house of parliament, though he might very reasonably think a particular detail of the powers of each well worth the attention of the public.

This omission in POLYBIUS, if it deserves that name, has been endeavoured to be supplied by several modern authors, in several languages; but without giving that satisfaction, which, from the great reputation those authors had deservedly

edly acquired in other branches of learning, the public had reason to expect. Whether this proceeded from the difficulty of the subject, or from their want of attention in treating it, I shall not pretend to determine; but must be so just to their memory, as to own that I attribute it, in a great measure, to the former; particularly, since, though I have provided my self with many more materials, than have been made use of by any of those writers, yet there are some points, which I cannot clear up by the authority of the ancient authors; for which reason, I chuse rather to submit them to the consideration of the learned, than endeavour to establish any system of my own upon unsupported conjectures.

Concerning the original institution of the Roman senate, this is the substance of the account given of it by DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, who is much more particular than LIVY in every thing relating to this subject.

I. After ROMULUS had divided all the people into three tribes, and subdivided each of these into ten curiæ, he formed the senate in the following manner: Their body was to consist of one hundred persons, all patricians; of

Ι. Τριχὴ νειμας τὴν πληθὺν ἀπάσαν — ἐπειτα τῶν τριῶν παλιν μοιρῶν ἑκάστην εἰς δέκα μοίρας διελὼν — ἐκάλει δὲ τὰς μὲν μείζους μοίρας, τρεῖς· τὰς δ' ἐλαττέρας, κβρίας — ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπιλέξαμεν — αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἓνα τὸν ἀρίστον ἀπεδείξεν — τῶν δὲ φυλῶν ἑκάστη προσέταξε τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἐλεσθαι — ἑκάστη φράτρα πάλιν ἐκέλευσε τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἐπιλέξαι — τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξεπληρώσε βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν — ἐξ ὧν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας ἕκαστὸς φράτρας προεχειρίσαντο, τοῖς ἀρχαίοις βουλευταῖς προσεγράψαν. Dionys. Hal. B. ii. Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τὴν

ἀρχὴν, τὸν δημότικον ὄχλον οἰκείον ἑαυτῷ ποιῆσαι προθυμηθεῖς — ἐπιλέξας ἀνδρας ἑκάτον ἐκ πάντων τῶν δημότικων — πατρικίους ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέταξεν εἰς τὸν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν, (Ταρκύνιον Πρίσκον) καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαῖοις τριακοσίοι βουλευταὶ τῶς ὅλης διακοσίοι. id. B. iii. Εὐβλευσάλο μὲν γὰρ τριακοσίους αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιῆσαι (ὁ Αὐγύστης). Dion. Cass. B. liv. Παραλαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δευτέρῳ μάλιστα τῆς μίας καὶ τετραρακοσῆς ὀλυμπιάδου ὁ Ταρκύνιος. Dion. Hal. B. iii. L. Sulla 11. and Q. Metellus consuls for the year 674. Fasti con-

these

these he himself chose one, and ordered each of the tribes, and each of the *curiæ*, to chuse three: All these together amounted to the number required: So that, the senate, in its original institution, consisted of one hundred patricians, ninety nine of whom owed their seats there to the choice of the people. This was also observed in the addition of the hundred Sabines made, some time after, by ROMULUS, and TATIUS, who were all chosen by the *curiæ*: These were also patricians, which then was, and, for many years after, continued to be, a necessary qualification for all, who were admitted into the senate; since we find that TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, in order to ingratiate himself with the people at his accession, chose out of their body one hundred persons, whom he first made patricians, then senators. From this time, the complement of the senate was three hundred, and, in all probability, continued so till SYLLA's time, that is,

fulares. Αυτή δε τη βελή, δια τας σασεις και τας πολεμικας παμπαν ολιγανδρεση, προσκατελεξεν (ο Συλλα) αμφι τας τριακοσις εκ των αριων ιππεων, ταις φυλαις αναδης ψηφον περι εκαστη. Appian, B. i. Civ. W. There is a passage in the epitome of the 89th book of Livy, which is thought to relate to this addition made to the senate by Sylla; the passage is as follows: *Senatum ex equestri ordine supplevit*: The sense of which seems to be, that he filled up the vacancies of the senate with knights, not that he made any addition to it; but, it plainly appears by the passage of Appian beforementioned, that he encreased their number. However, the author of the epitome, who, certainly, was not Livy, is not much to be depended upon; for, in the epitome of the 60th book, he says that *C. Gracchus added six hundred knights to the three hundred senators*, ut

sexcenti equites trecentis senatoribus admiscerentur: id est, ut equester ordo bis tantum virium in senatu haberet; to the end that the order of knights might have twice as much power in the senate. This is so worded, that it cannot be construed to relate to the Sempronian law, concerning the judges: For, by that law, the judicature was totally transferred from the senate to the knights, as may be seen at large in Appian, B. i. Civ. W. and, very particularly, in Velleius Paterculus, B. ii. c. 32. who says that *Cotta divided the judicature, which C. Gracchus had transferred from the senate to the knights, and Sylla from the knights to the senate, equally between the two orders*: Cotta judicandi munus, quod C. Gracchus ereptum senatori ad equites, Sylla ab illis ad senatum transfulerant, æqualiter inter utrumque ordinem partitus est. And

about five hundred and thirty four years, which is the number of years comprised between the first year of TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, and the second consulship of SYLLA; who, to strengthen his party in the senate, and, at the same time, to repair the losses it had sustained by the death of many of its members in the late commotions, encreased their number, probably, to more than four hundred: These additional senators were, like the former, chosen by the people.

II. From this time, to the fourth consulship of CÆSAR, that is, during the space of thirty four years, I shall not pretend to ascertain the precise number of which the senate consisted: It is certain, however, that it exceeded four hundred; and, probably, the complement was the same that SYLLA left.

III. CÆSAR, the year before his death, and after he had overcome all opposition, among the various methods made use of by him to reward those, who had preferred his cause to That of their country, introduced so many of his creatures into the senate, that the number of senators amount-

here, by the way, I cannot help taking notice of an error in Plutarch, in his life of C. Gracchus, where he says, *that he committed the judicature to three hundred senators, and as many knights.*

ὁ δὲ τριακοσίους τῶν ἵππεων προσκαλεῖται αὐτοῖς ὡς τριακοσίοις, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις κοινὰς τῶν ἑξακοσίων ἐποίησε.

II. The interval between the second consulship of Sylla, and the fourth consulship of Cæsar, particularly, the latter part of it, is so much illustrated by Cicero's writings, that I am surprised we should not be able to gather out of them what the complement of the senate was, during that period. All I can find is, that they were above four

hundred; since in his 14th letter of the first book to Atticus, he gives an account of a certain division of the senate, in which *there were four hundred for the affirmative, and fifteen for the negative*; homines ad quindecim curioni nullum senatus-consultum facienti assenserunt: ex altera parte facilè quadringenti fuerunt. There is another passage to the same purpose, in his speech to the senate, after his return from banishment; he there tells them, that *there were four hundred and ten senators present*: quo quidem die cum quadringenti & decem senatores essetis.

III. Μηδὲν διακρίνων μήτ' εἰ τις ἑσθλιώ-
ed

ed even to nine hundred. It will be easily believed that this recruit proved a greater addition to his power, than to the dignity of the senate; particularly, when it is considered that they consisted of new-made citizens, half-barbarous Gauls, soldiers, and the sons of freed-men. But CÆSAR was outdone in this, as in every other excess, by the triumvirs; for they, it seems, brought slaves into the senate. By these additions, the number of senators came to exceed a thousand. The history of the Roman senate, under the emperors, is so disagreeable a subject, that I shall not pursue it: For, what can be more afflicting, than to behold a wise, a virtuous, and a venerable assembly, become weak, abandoned, and despicable? transformed from all that is great, and glorious, to all that is mean, and infamous; from being the scourge of tyrants, to become their flatterers, and wretchedly submitting to be not only slaves, but the instruments of slavery. Let us turn our eyes, therefore, from the ruins of this fair building to the qualifications, that were required in a Roman senator, when the senate deserved to be called by CINEAS, the ambassador of PYRRHUS, an assembly of kings.

IV. Before the expulsion of the kings, the vacancies in the senate were filled up by them; and, after their expul-

της, μητ' εἰ τις ἀπελευθερῶ παῖς ἦν, ἐνε-
γεγράφεν· ὥς τε καὶ ἐννακοσίχς τὸ κεφάλαιον
αὐτῶν γενεσθαι. Dion Cass. B. xliii.
*Cæsar dictator legit in senatum civitate
donatos, et quosdam è semi-barbaris Gal-
lorum. Sueton. Life of Cæsar. Ες τε τὸ
βεδευτήριον καὶ δούλους ἐνεγράψαν.* Dion
Cass. B. xlviii. *Erant enim super mille,
et quidem indignissimi, post necem Cæsa-
ris, per gratiam et præmium adlecti,
quos orcinos vulgus vocabat. Sueton.
Life of Aug.*

IV. *Hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam
vestram, quam plerique oriundi ex Alba-
nis et Sabinis, non genere nec sanguine,
sed per cooptationem in patres habetis,
aut ab regibus lecti, aut, post reges, ex-
actos, jussu populi. Liv. B. iv. c. 4. P.
Licinius Calvus tribunus militum consu-
lari potestate—vir nullus ante hono-
ribus usus, vetus tantum senator, et
ætate jam gravis. Id. B. v. c. 12. Ma-
jores nostri, cum regum potestatem non
tulissent, ita magistratus annuos crea-*

sion, those senators, who had not a right to a seat in the senate, by virtue of some magistracy, were chosen by the people: So that, though the magistracy was the seminary of the senate, out of which it was annually supplied, yet there were other senators (probably chosen when the vacancies were too many to be filled up by the magistrates of the year) who were invested with that dignity by the people, without having borne any magistracy at all. These senators were chosen promiscuously out of the plebeians, as well as the patricians, even before the people were, by law, ca-

verunt, ut concilium senatus reipublicæ præponerent sempiternum; deligerentur autem in id concilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret. Cic. for Sext. I have said that the time, when the people obtained the privilege of being chosen immediately into the senate, must have been between the years 263 and 314; because it is plain, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that it was after the affair of Coriolanus, which happened in the first of those years; for he says that, *from that time, the democracy gained ground upon the aristocracy, by the peoples being made eligible into the senate*, and, by several other concessions made in their favor, of which he there gives a particular account, *καὶ ἐνθαυτὰ ἀρξάμενος ὁ δῆμος, κέρθη μέγας· ἡ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία πολλά τε ἀρχαῖα ἀξιωματὸς ἀπέβαλε, βελὴς τε μέτεχεν ἐπιτρέψασα τοῖς δημοσίοις, &c.* Dion. Hal. B. vii. The year 314 was remarkable for the punishment of Sp. Mælius, who was, as it appears, a plebeian; which is not at all contradicted by Livy's saying he was *ex equestri ordine*; for the order of knights was common both to the

patricians, and plebeians; since, not birth, but the possession only of four hundred thousand sestertii, that is, of 3229 l. 3 s. 4 d. sterling gave a title to it. After Mælius had received the punishment he deserved, Livy makes L. Quintius Cincinnatus, the dictator, tell the people, that it was monstrous in Mælius to imagine that the city, *which could scarce digest his being a senator, would suffer him to be their king, ut quem senatorem concoquere civitas vix posset, regem ferret.* B. iv. c. 15. Sp. Mælius therefore, though a plebeian, might have been elected into the senate: It is also certain that we find the people in possession of this privilege in the year 353, when P. Licinius Calvus was chosen consular tribune. Upon the whole, as the affair of Coriolanus suggested the reflexion I have mentioned to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and, as that affair happened only two years after the institution of the tribunes of the people, by which the people were admitted into the senate by virtue of that magistracy, it is very probable they soon after obtained the right of being elected immediately into that assembly.

pable

pable of being either consular tribunes, or consuls. When the people obtained the privilege of being chosen senators in this manner, I cannot determine; but shall observe that it must have been between the years of Rome 263, and 314. This, however, is certain, that the senators of both kinds were chosen by the people, with this difference, that one sort of them were elected immediately into the senate; and the others, into those magistracies, that gave them a right to a seat there.

V. All magistrates, such as consuls, prætors, censors, ædiles, tribunes of the people, and quæstors had a right to a seat in the senate, during their magistracy; after the ex-

V. *Tum C. Canuleius pauca in senatu vociferatus. Liv. B. iv. c. 1.* και τὸ ἐπείσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ συμβεβηκοὶ το ἀρχεῖον (το τῶν δημαρχῶν) εἶσαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν. *Dionys. Hal. B. vii. ἐπεὶ αὖτε συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οἱ συνέδροι, παρῴτων καὶ τῶν δημαρχῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐσκοπῶν.* *Id. B. x. Οὐτε γὰρ πρῶτος τις ἀνέβη τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον Κάτωνος, ὅτε ὕστερος ἀπηλθεν ἐκκλησίαν δὲ καὶ βουλὴν ἐδεμίαν παρήκεν.* *Plut. Life of Cat. of Ut.* The curule magistrates were the consuls, prætors, censors, and curule ædiles; no authorities are brought to shew that these sat in the senate, during their magistracy, it being a thing so well known. *Octoginta præterea aut senatores, aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent. Liv. B. xxii. c. 49.* It is most probable that the censors observed the same order in calling over the senate, with regard to those, who had been magistrates since the last time it had been called over, that was followed by M. Buteo, who, being the oldest censo-

rian, was created dictator to perform the duty of the censors, in reading over the names of the senators, and to supply the vacancies occasioned by the death of great numbers of them, who had lost their lives during the second Punic war: Here the curule magistrates are first called over, in the order they had been created magistrates; then the plebeian ædiles, the tribunes of the people, and the quæstors; *recitato vetere senatu, inde primos in demortuorum locum legit, qui post M. Æmilium et C. Flaminiū censores curulem magistratum cepissent, necdum in senatum lecti essent; ut quisque eorum magistratus primus creatus erat: tum legit qui ædiles, tribuni plebei, quæstorescue fuerant. Liv. B. xxiii. c. 23.* This, therefore, seems to have been the order observed by the censors, in calling over the names of those, who had been magistrates since the last call of the senate. As to the right I have said those, who had been curule magistrates, enjoyed, of being admitted into the senate during the interval

piration

piration of which, those, who were not before in the cen-
sors list, ceased to be senators, till the next time the senate
was called over by the cenfors ; when, if their names were
not omitted, they became senators : And, during the inter-
val between the expiration of their magistracy, and the next

between the expiration of their magi-
stracy, and the next call of the senate ;
and the exclusion of those, whose ma-
gistracy had not been of that sort, I
hope the following authorities will be
thought sufficient to support what I
have advanced upon that subject.
There is a passage in Valerius Maxi-
mus, B. ii. c. 2. where he says that Q.
Fabius Maximus, as he was going in-
to the country, met upon the road P.
Crassus, who, he knew, had been
quæstor three years before, and dis-
coursed with him of what had passed
in the senate ; not knowing that he
not yet been called by the cenfors to
the degree of a senator, by which
means alone, those, who had been ma-
gistrates, could become senators. *Me-
mor eum triennio ante quæstorem factum ;
ignarusque nondum a censcribus in ordi-
nem senatorium allectum : quo uno modo.
his, qui jam honores gesserant, aditus in
curiam dabatur.* The quæstorship,
therefore, not being a curule magi-
stracy, those, who had been invested
with it, had no right of coming into
the senate, during that interval ; which
right those, who had been curule ma-
gistrates, enjoyed, though they were
not actually senators till their names
were called over by the cenfors : This
appears by the terms of the consular
edict, in which they are always sum-
moned, and always distinguished from
the senators. This edict is often men-
tioned by Livy, and constantly runs in

this form, *uti senatores, quibusque in
senatu sententiam dicere licet, ad——
convenient.* Here those, who had a
right of delivering their opinions in
the senate, are distinguished from the
senators : In the following passage,
Cicero, in his speech for Cluentius,
distinguishes them from the quæstors,
and the tribunes of the people, *quive
quæstor, tribunus plebis, quive in sena-
tu sententiam dixit.* There is an ap-
pellation often applied by the ancient
authors to some of the senators, which
has occasioned great variety of opini-
ons, and, consequently, great difficul-
ties ; these have been encreased, if not
created, by what Gellius has advanced
upon this subject : The appellation I
mean is that of *Pedarii*, which that
author has endeavoured to explain in a
manner so inconsistent with the testi-
mony of all writers of the best authority,
and, indeed, with what he himself
has, upon other occasions, asserted,
that I do not think it worth while to
confute him any otherwise, than by
producing some passages out of those
authors, which the reader may, if he
pleases, confront with what Gellius
has said upon this subject. But, to
explain this matter : According to my
opinion, there were three methods, by
which the senators declared their sense
of what came before them ; the first
was by their *assent*, or approbation,
which they signified as they sat in
their places ; and this is what Cicero

call

call of the senate, if they had been *curule* magistrates, they had a right of coming into the senate, and of delivering their opinion there, though not of voting. But, if they had not been *curule* magistrates, they had no right of coming into the senate during that interval.

VI. This power of the cenfors was so great, that CicerO thinks it ought to have been abrogated. However, great as

means, when he tells Metellus, *nulla est a me unquam sententia dicta in fratrem tuum, quotiescunque aliquid est actum, sedens iis assensi, qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt. B. v. Ep. 2.* The second was, by delivering their opinions, with their reasons, which they did standing up in their places: This requires neither proof, nor explanation. The third method was, by dividing, without giving their reasons, that is, by going over either to this, or that side of the house; and this was called *pedibus in sententiam ire*, from whence came the appellation of *pedarii senatores*; and this is the sense Festus has given to the word, *pedarium senatorem — ita appellatur, quia tacitus transfundo ad eum, cujus sententiam probat, quid sentiat, indicat.* All these three methods are particularly mentioned in the following passage of Livy, B. xxvii. c. 34. It relates to M. Livius Salinator, chosen consul with C. Claudius Nero, in the 547th year of Rome, whose consulship was illustrated by the defeat of Asdrubal: That author there says of the former, who, after a long absence from public affairs, had been obliged, by the cenfors, to give his attendance in the senate, *sed tum quoque aut verbo assentiebatur, aut pedibus in sententiam ibat, donec cognati eum hominis causa, M. Livii Macati, quum*

fama ejus ageretur, stantem coëgit in senatu sententiam dicere. The sense of this passage Sigonius, misled by Gellius, has strangely mistaken; which I mention the rather, because Gronovius, who, in his edition of Livy, frequently animadverts upon the errors of Sigonius, not only suffers this to escape without censure, but inserts his annotation among his own. By this passage of Livy, it plainly appears, contrary to the opinion of Gellius, and of all the modern writers, that those senators, who were called *pedarii*, were not distinguished from the rest of their body, any otherwise, than by their behaviour upon that particular occasion; that is, they were called so, because they *then* divided without giving their reasons; for it must be observed, that Livius Salinator, whose manner of voting is here taken notice of by Livy, was, at that time, a consular senator, and, consequently, enjoyed, in an eminent degree, all the rights annexed to the dignity of a senator.

VI. *Ex iis autem qui magistratum ceperunt, quo senatus constituitur, populare est sane neminem in summum locum nisi per populum venire, sublata cooptatione censoria.* Cic. B. iii. of Laws. When the decemvirs were suppressed, it was made capital, by two several laws, to create any magistrate without an ap-

it

it was, it was not without controll ; for the censured person had a right of appealing from the censurs to the people ; to whom, from the suppression of the decemvirs, there lay an appeal even from the dictators. This relief, therefore, the censured person was intitled to, when both the censurs concurred in expelling him ; but, if only one of them thought he deserved this animadversion, the other might acquit him of it.

VII. It must, however, be considered that this expulsion did not amount to a disability ; for the person expelled might be rechosen into any magistracy, that gave right to a seat in the senate ; and, consequently, be readmitted to the degree of a senator.

VIII. No priests, as such, were admitted into the senate, except the *flamen dialis* : But, as the dignities of the several

peal to the people ; both those laws are mentioned by Livy ; the words of the first are, *ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet : qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi : neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur.* B. iii. c. 55. Those of the other are as follows, *qui magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur.* id. ib. In consequence of these laws, we find by Plutarch, in his Life of T. Flaminius, that his brother, L. Flaminius, being deservedly expelled the senate by the censurs, M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius, appealed from them to the people, who affirmed the sentence of the censurs. I know it is generally thought that there lay no appeal to the people from the dictators, even after the affair of the decemvirs ; but the contrary is manifest from those two laws, and will appear much more so by the speech of M. Fabius, in favor

of his son Q. Fabius, master of the horse to L. Papirius Cursor, the dictator, who, without any regard to the intercession either of the senate, or army, designed to put the master of the horse to death for engaging the Samnites in his absence, contrary to his orders, though he had gained a complete victory, in which twenty thousand of the enemy were slain : To avert the effects of this severity, M. Fabius appeals from the dictator to the people, as to the sovereign judge of his conduct, *whose power*, he tells him, *is superior to That of his dictatorship* ; *provoco ad populum ; eumque tibi fugienti exercitus tui, fugienti senatus judicium, judicem fero, qui certè unus plus quam tua dictatura potest polletque.* Liv. B. viii. c. 33. *Tres ejecti de senatu : retinuit quosdam Lepidus a collega præteritos.* Liv. B. xl. c. 51.

priest-

priesthoods were generally conferred upon the principal persons of the commonwealth, these were intitled to a seat there, by virtue of the magistracies they had borne: It being a fundamental maxim among the Romans, not to look upon the law, the sword, and the priesthood, as incompatible professions: So that, every person, who pretended to distinguish himself in the commonwealth, was under an indispensable obligation of qualifying himself for all of them. By this means, these three professions, whose different interests ever must divide the world under any other regulation, being exercised by the same persons, had, of course, the same interests.

IX. The power of the tribunes of the people was very great, even in the senate; so great, that, if only one of their college interposed, no decree could be made.

VII. Λεντυλῶς ὁ Περπλιῶς, ὁ μέλα την ὑπάλειαν ἐκ τῆς γερεσιας ἐκπεσῶν (ἐστραλῆγει γὰρ ὁπῶς την βελειαν ἀναλαβῆ.) Dion Cass. B. xxxvii.

VIII. *Habetur senatus frequens: adhibentur omnes pontifices, qui erant senatores: à quibus Marcellinus, qui erat cupidissimus mei, sententiam primus rogatus, quæsit quid essent in decernendo secuti. Tum M. Lucullus de omnium collegarum sententiâ respondit religionis iudices pontifices fuisse, legis senatum: se, et collegas suos de religione statuissē, in senatu de lege statuturos.* Cic. Ep. 2. to Att. B. iv. *cum omnes pontifices, qui erant hujus ordinis, adessent.* id. of the Ans. of the Harusp. C. *Valerius Flaccus, flamen dialis — rem intermissam per multos annos ob indignitatem flaminum priorum repetivit, ut in senatum introiret. Ingressum eum curiam quum Licinius prætor inde eduxisset, tribunos plebis appellavit flamen — tribuni rem*

inertiâ flaminum oblitteratam, ipsis, non sacerdotio damno fuisse, quum æquum censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra tendente prætore, magno assensu patrum plebisque, flaminem in senatum introduxerunt. Liv. B. xxvii. c. 8.

IX. *Neque posset per intercessionem tribunicias senatus consultum fieri.* Liv. B. iv. c. 43. Περπλιῶς γὰρ τῶν δημαρχῶν ἔδεν λεγῶν, ὅτι μήτε ἐν ἀναγκῇ τινὶ μέλασθῆναι ἐποίησαντο, ἅτε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντες, εἴτε ἐβελοντο τινὰ γνώμην συμβαλεσθαι, εἴτε καὶ μὴ. Dion Cass. B. xli. *Cum fieret senatus consultum in sententiam Marcellini, omnibus præter unum assentientibus, Serranus intercessit.* Cic. Ep. 2. B. iv. to Att.

X. *Sempronii lectio erat; cæterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus sequendum acibat, ut qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent, fuisset, eum principem legerent: is T. Manlius Torquatus erat.* Sempronius, cū dii sortem legendi

X. The first person of this assembly in dignity was the prince of the senate ; who by custom was the oldest censorian ; but, if it was insisted upon by the censor, to whose lot it fell to chuse, he might name any other senator. The nomination of the prince of the senate preceded the calling over the senators.

XI. That the presence of a certain number of senators was, at all times, necessary to the passing of decrees, cannot be denied ; since we often find that, for want of the number required, no decree could be made ; and often meet with complaints against surreptitious decrees, that is, decrees

dedissent, ei jus liberum eosdem dedisse deos, se id suo arbitrio facturum; lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum — Quum diu certatum esset verbis, concedente collega, lectus à Sempronio princeps in senatu Q. Fabius Maximus consul: inde alius senatus lectus. Liv. B. xxvii. c. 11.

XI. *Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Liv. B. ii. c. 23. Quid ab eo quemquam posse æqui expectare, qui per infrequentiam furtim senatus consultum factum ad ærarium detulerit. id. B. xxxix. c. 4. Cupivi, inquit, ex senatus consulto surrepto. Cic. B. x. Ep. 4. to Att.* It is generally thought that, while the complement of the senate was three hundred, the presence of one hundred senators, and no more, was necessary to the passing of all decrees: I am sensible that there are several passages in Livy, where mention is made of the necessity of so many senators being present, when a report of some particular matter was to be made to the senate: But this seems to have been in consequence of some order made for that purpose, *Senatus consulto cautum est — ut prætor senatum consuleret —*

quum in senatu centum non minus essent.

Liv. B. xxxix. c. 18. And, if so, this order is so far from being a proof that the presence of so many senators, and no more, was necessary to the passing of every decree, that it proves quite the contrary; particularly, since mention is also made by the same author of no less than one hundred and fifty senators being present, when a public vow was made for the prosperity of the commonwealth, *Quum centum et quinquaginta non minus adessent, præeunte verba Lepido pontifice maximo, id votum susceptum est. Liv. B. xlii. c. 28.*

I find, besides, that, upon occasions of great moment, the senate were sworn, before they gave their votes; but this was also in consequence of some order made for that purpose; which, like the orders before mentioned, was occasional. *Patres jurati (ita convenerat) censuerunt. Liv. B. xxx. c. 40.*

Ἀπασι δὲ προσέταττο παρῆσι, καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, μεθ' ὅγεα τὴν ψήφον ἐπιφέρειν. Dionys. Hal. B. vii. There is a passage in the xxvi B. c. 33. of Livy, which deserves more than ordinary

made,

made, when the number required were not present. But, I am apt to believe that the number of senators requisite varied, according to the importance of the decrees; in this I am confirmed by a regulation of Augustus, who, as I have observed upon another occasion, appointed the particular number of senators, whose presence should be necessary to the enacting decrees of every kind: And it is probable this regulation was rather declaratory of the standing order of the senate, than introductory of a new one. This was in the 744th, or 745th year of Rome: He had nine years before fixed the whole number of senators at six hundred, when the presence of four hundred was necessary to the passing of decrees; which number he eight years after reduced; for he found the senators not very fond of giving their attendance in the senate, where they were constantly obliged to applaud, without approving; which, though they submitted to in the most servile manner, yet they could not help remembering they had once been free; they

attention, not only as it shews that, upon the occasion there mentioned, a particular order was made by the people that the senate should be sworn before they gave their votes, but also because it was, at the same time, resolved by the people to stand to what should be determined by the major part of the senators, who should be present at the deliberation of that affair, without requiring the presence of any certain number of them. The consideration related to the fate of the Campani, and others, who had submitted to the Romans; upon which, Livy says, the people came to the following resolution: *Plebes sic jussit, quod senatus juratus maxima pars, qui adsederint, censeat; id*

volumus jubemusque. These considerations make me fearful of asserting, with the generality of those, who have treated this subject, that, while the senate consisted of three hundred, the presence of one hundred, and no more was necessary to the passing of every decree. Του τε αριθμον τον εις την κυρωσιν των δογματων αναγκαιον, καθ' εκαστον ειδος αυτων, ως γε εν κεφαλαιοις ειπειν, διανομοθετησε (ὁ Αὐγύστης). Dion Cass. B. lv. Δυσχερῶς ἀντὶ τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως—τὴς ἑξακοσίαις κατελεξάτο. id. B. liv. Ὁρῶν δὲ ὅτι ἐκ αἰσυχνοῖ συνελεγοντο, ἐκέλευσε τὰ δογματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ἐλαττοσιν ἢ τετρακοσίοις γίνεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐξῆν τινα ἐκ τῶν πλεοναλῶς κυρεῖται. id. B. liv.

could command their words and actions, and even their looks, but not their memories.

XII. The Romans were not a mercantile people : Their view was to conquer, and to govern ; to spare submitting, and subdue resisting nations. For this reason, though, perhaps, not for this reason only, commerce of every kind was thought unbecoming a Roman senator. But, that their dignity might be supported by law, as well as custom, it was made unlawful either for a Roman senator, or his father, to have a ship of greater burden, than was necessary to convey the product of their farms to Rome.

XIII. As the magistracy, according to the common course, gave admittance into the senate, so it regulated the ranks of the senators : The magistrates of the year had the precedence of all ; and of one another, according to their respective dignities ; according to which also, the consular, the prætorian, the censorian, the ædilician, the tribunician, and the quæstorian senators were placed : Of these the quæstorship was the first conferred, and qualified the person invested with it for a seat in the senate, as a magistrate, during the year, and, as a senator, the first time the senate was called over by the censors : But no one was capable, even of this magistracy, till he had served ten campaigns. And here I cannot help stopping a while, to take a survey of this august body, which was composed of those, who, besides the merit and experience of ten years service, actu-

XII. *Legem Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum, uno patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio tulerat ; ne quis senator, quive senatoris pater fuisset, maritimam navem quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet : id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos :*

quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Liv. B. xxi. c. 63.

XIII. *Hoc igitur fretus senatu, Pompeianum senatum despicit, in quo decem fuimus consulares—qui vero prætorii?—qui ædilicii? qui tribunicii? qui quæstorii? Cic. Philip. 13.*

ally

ally were, or had been treasurers, guardians of the peoples liberties, superintendents of the temples of their gods, and the entertainments of the public, controllers of manners, judges, and generals. An assembly so constituted deserved to be what they really were, the conquerors, and governors of the world.

XIV. As the military age commenced at the taking the manly gown, that is, at the age of seventeen; and, as ten years service were necessary to qualify a person for the first office, that gave admittance into the senate, I mean; the quæstorship; it follows that, if the senate happened to be called over the year after, the quæstors, provided their names were not omitted, became senators, at the age of twenty eight years: This age, therefore, was the earliest any person, according to the common course, could become a senator; but, as the time for calling over the senate was only every fifth year, and, upon many accounts, was often postponed, it frequently happened that there was an interval of one, two, three, or four years, and sometimes more, between the quæstorship, and the election of the quæstors into the senate.

XV. The same magistrates, who assembled the senate, whether consuls, prætors, or tribunes of the people, ac-

XIV. Πολιτικὴν δὲ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξ εἰς ἑδένι πρότερον, εἰ μὴ δέκα στρατειῶς ἐνιαυτοῖς ἢ τετελεώς. Polyb. B. vi. Εἰσέρχονται μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑωδέκα ἐτη, τῶν ἄλλων δέκα στρατευομένων ἐναυγαῖς. Plut. Life of C. Gracchus.

XV. Quum consules, tumulto repentino coacti, senatum vocarent. Liv. B. viii. c. 28. P. Furius Philus, & M. Pomponius prætores, senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt. Id. B. xxii. c. 55. Nam, cum senatum a. d. 13. kalendas

Januarias tribuni plebis vocavissent. Cic. B. x. Ep. 28. Publilius, penes quem fasces erant, dic, Spuri Postumi, inquit. Liv. B. ix. c. 8. Ac, post novam affinitatem, Pompeium primum rogare sententiam cæpit; cum Crassum soleret, essetque consuetudo ut, quem ordinem interrogandi sententias consul kalendis Januariis instituisset, eum toto anno conservaret. Sueton. Life of Cæsar. D. Junius Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat. Sall.

quainted

quainted them with the reasons, for which they were assembled : If the senate were summoned by the first, the consul who then had the rods, asked the opinion of the senators upon what he had proposed, beginning, generally, with the prince of the senate, and so on, according to their ranks ; and, sometimes, with a relation, or a friend ; but, whatever order they pursued on the first of *January*, the day they entered upon their office, it was customary for them to observe the same afterwards, till the election of the consuls for the next year, which, commonly, fell out in *July*, or *August* ; from which time, the first consul elect was first asked his opinion. Upon a division, the consul, or other magistrate, by whom the senate was assembled, directed those, who were for the affirmative, to go to one side of the house, and those, who were for the negative, to go to the other. This they often did, without delivering their opinions,

Cat. consp. So that, what Suetonius calls *toto anno*, must be understood to signify only till the election of the consuls for the ensuing year. *Quatenus de religione dicebat, cui rei quia jam obsisti non poterat, Bibulo assensum est : de tribus legatis, frequentes ierunt in omnia alia.* *Cic. B. i. Ep. 2.* *Ire in omnia alia* was, it seems, the senatorian language, implying to divide for the negative, and *censere omnia alia*, to be of a contrary opinion. *Qui hoc censetis, illuc transite ; qui omnia alia, in hanc partem.* *Festus.* These were the words made use of by the consul, or other magistrate, who presided upon that occasion. In this manner, Thucydides says that Sthenelaïdas, one of the ephori, took the opinion of the Lacedæmonians upon that important question, whether the thirty years truce with the Athenians was broken ; in reality, whether they

should declare war against the Athenians, or not : His manner of putting the question was very like That practised in the Roman senate ; *Those*, says he, *who are of opinion that the truce is broken, and that the Athenians have acted unjustly, let them rise, and go to that side* (pointing to a certain place) *and those, who are of a contrary opinion, to the other.* Upon which, the assembly rose, and divided ; and those, who were of opinion that the truce was broken, carried it by a great majority. *Ὅτῳ μὲν ὕμῶν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκῶσι λε-
λυθῆαι αἱ πονδαι, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν,
ἀναστῆτω εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον· (δείξας τὸ χω-
ρίον αὐτοῖς) ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκῶσιν, εἰς τὰ ἐπι-
θάτερα· ἀναστάντες δὲ διεσῆσαν, καὶ πολλῶν
πλείους ἐγένοντο οἷς ἐδοκῆεν αἱ πονδαι λελυ-
θῆαι.* *Thuc. B. i. c. 87.* *διαψηφισέως
δὲ ἐπὶ τέττοις ἔκατ' ἀνδρά (μὴ καὶ δι'
αἰδῶ, ἢ καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκῶντα*
much

much less, their reasons, if the question happened to be of such a nature, as to lay them under any restraint in delivering them. If one, or more tribunes of the people opposed the passing of any decree, the sense of the house was, however, recorded, and, instead of a *senatusconsultum*, was called an authority of the senate.

XVI. It was the opinion of a very wise man among the Romans, who has professedly treated of the government of that commonwealth, that it would have added great weight to the authority of the senate, if they had voted by ballot; which I am not at all surpris'd at, since the laws, relating to the ballot, in which manner the people gave their votes upon all occasions of importance, were ever looked upon as the source, and support of liberty.

XVII. The senatorian census, or fortune required to qualify a person for a seat in the senate, was eight hundred thousand *sestertii*, or 6458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling: This sum AUGUSTUS raised to twelve hundred thousand *sestertii*, or 9687*l.*

σφισιν αποφηνῶνται) ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ βουλευτήρια μεταστᾶσει γενομένης. Dion Cass. B. xli. *Si quis intercedat senatusconsulto, auctoritate se fore contentum.* Liv. B. iv. c. 57. This authority of the senate, as I have said in the 27th annotation, Dion Cassius applies to a law made by Augustus, but, at the same time, says, which is very true, that the distinction between an authority of the senate, and a *senatusconsultum* was very exactly observed, for a long while, by the Romans of old, though, in his time, it was grown obsolete, τὸ τοῦτο τε ἐν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῖς παλαιῶν τηρήθεν, ἐξίτηλον τροπὸν τινα ἤδη γεγόνε. B. lv. This authority of the senate differed from a *senatusconsultum* in another respect; it was not,

like that, subject to be defeated by the interposition of the tribunes of the people; *de his rebus, pridie quam scripsi, senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit; cui, cum Cato, & Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta.* Cic. B. i. Ep. 2. *Eaque, quæ de eâ perscripta est, auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse—offensionem esse periculosam, propter interpositam auctoritatem—video.* id. B. i. Ep. 7.

XVI. *Duabus rebus posse confirmari senatum puto; si numerus auctus per tabellam sententiam feret. Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat.* Fragm. supposed of Sallust to C. Cæsar. *Lex Cassia tabellaria principium justissimæ libertatis.* Cic. in Cornel. *Tabella vindex tacitæ libertatis.* Id. 2d Agr.

10 s. sterling; which, if, by any accident, a senator had impaired, he lost his seat in the senate.

XVIII. If a senator neglected to give his attendance in the senate, without being able to assign a lawful cause of absence, he was liable to a fine; and obliged, immediately, to find security for the payment of it.

There are some other particulars relating to the constitution of the Roman senate, which I have not thought worth taking notice of; such as the sacrifices, and other religious ceremonies necessary to be performed previously to any deliberation; as also the robes peculiar to the dignity of a Roman senator: The first of these are rendered as ridiculous by our prejudices, as they were made venerable by theirs; and the other, though some learned men have thought fit to bestow a great deal of criticism upon that inquiry, seems to be a subject rather of curiosity, than instruction.

XVII. *Senatorium censum ampliavit, ac pro octingentorum millium summa, duodecies H. S. taxavit.* Sueton. Life of Aug. I have followed Arbutnot in reducing the sestertii to sterling money; he says, and I think with great probability, that *mille sestertium* amounted to 8—1—5 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling; consequently *centum millia sestertium*, will amount to 807—5—10, *octingenta millia sestertium*, the old senatorian census, to 6458—6—8, and duodecies H. S. the Augustan census, to 9687—10—0. *Curtius habet in*

Volaterrano possessionem—hoc autem tempore Cæsar cum in senatum legit, quem ordinem ille istâ possessione amissâ vix tueri potest. Cic. B. xiii. Ep. 5.

XVIII. *Quis unquam tanto damno senatorem coegit? Aut quid est ultra pignus, aut multam?* Cic. Philip. 1. *Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores simul ad pignora capienda, sciscitandumque, num consulto detrectarent?* Liv. B. iii. c. 38. *Senatori, qui non aderit, aut causa, aut culpa esto.* Cic. B. iii. of Laws.

ERRATA in VOL. I.

To the PREFACE.

PAGE xx. line 17. for *megarenfes*. read *Megarenfes*.
P. xxi. l. 1. dele *of*.
P. xxxi. l. 17. f. *are*, r. *fland*.
P. xxxvi. l. 2. f. *in*. r. *of*.

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P. 2. Note 2. Column 1. Line 11. f. character. read, characters.
Ibid. C. 2. L. 19. f. designs. r. design.
P. 3. L. 14. f. or. r. nor.
P. 4. L. 18. f. exceeded. r. surpassed.
P. 4. N. 8. f. As (in Roman) r. As (in Greek)
P. 5. N. 8. C. 2. L. 22. f. only shut. r. shut only.
Ib. L. 25. no comma after *shut*.
P. 6. N. 8. C. 1. L. 4. f. 744th, r. 743d year.
P. 9. N. 14. C. 1. L. 19. after Assyrians, dele under :
and read, *And afterwards chose for their king*.
P. 10. N. 14. C. 1. L. 16. f. Gonatus. r. Gonatas.
P. 11. N. 14. C. 1. L. 28. no comma after *power*.
P. 13. N. 15. C. 1. L. 5. f. contended. r. contend.
Ib. L. 12. f. *or*. r. *et*.
P. 17. last line. f. consideration. r. contemplation.
P. 19. N. 24. C. 1. L. 20. no punctum after *Dion*.
Ib. N. 25. C. 2. L. 17. f. pertius. r. peritus.
P. 20. C. 1. L. 7. f. 620th. r. 621st. year.
P. 21. N. 28. C. 2. L. 2. f. author. r. authors.
P. 23. N. 29. C. 1. last line. f. *ny*. r. *ny*.
Ib. N. 30. L. 11. f. Sicanians. r. Sicani.
P. 26. L. 5. no comma after *are*.
P. 29. C. 1. L. 12. after colony. r. which.
Ib. L. 18. f. Lycaon. r. Cecrops.
P. 30. N. 37. C. 1. L. 3. f. *ἐλθεα*. r. *ῥήθηα*.
P. 31. L. 16. and 20. f. Oenotrians. r. Oenotri.
P. 37. L. 14. f. Amiterna. r. Amiternum.
P. 48. N. 60. f. *εδη* and *εδος*. r. *ιδη* and *ιδος*.
Ib. N. 61. f. *irreproachable*. r. *irreproachable*.
P. 49. N. 65. f. *εαν* r. *ρην*.
P. 56. L. 4. after *oracle*. r. *that*.
P. 63. L. 12. after *is*. strike out *a*.
P. 83. N. 116. C. 2. L. 4. f. *η*. r. *η*.
P. 85. L. 12. f. Celti. r. Celtæ.
P. 90. last line. no comma after *honors*.
P. 91. last line but one. f. superintendence. r. superintendence.
P. 96. L. 16. strike out *being*.
P. 101. C. 1. L. 8. f. Jarba. r. Jarbas.
Ib. L. 30. after *made*. r. *ber*.
Ib. L. 35. f. Amna. r. Amne.
P. 108. L. 14. no comma after *and*.
P. 109. N. 151. C. 1. L. 12. f. *κοιμμεν* r. *κοιμμεν*.
Ib. L. 22. f. *en*. r. *ex*.
P. 111. N. 155. L. 7. f. *χρησμοιοιηδον*. r. *χρησμοιοιηδον*.
P. 113. last line. f. Battea. r. Batea.
P. 119. L. 11. no comma after *king*.
P. 121. C. 2. last line. f. then. r. than.
P. 125. last line but one. no commas before, or after *we have received*.
P. 133. C. 1. L. 33. f. *Μυρμιδονος* r. *Μυρμιδονες*.
P. 135. N. 201. f. *υμας* r. *υμας*.
Ib. N. 202. after *υδαν* strike out *των*.
P. 136. L. 24. f. Delus. r. Delos.

P. 145. N. 212. between *Αμαλη Τυρος* put a line.
P. 146. last line but one. no comma after *wine*.
P. 148. L. 5. f. palce. r. place.
P. 151. last line but one. f. of Trojan. r. of the Trojan.
P. 152. C. 1. last line but three. f. Simonides. r. Palamedes.
P. 161. C. 2. L. 10. f. Aaneas. r. Aeneas.
P. 162. L. 1. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 163. L. 5. f. Cephalon. r. Cephalo.
P. 168. L. 7. f. Syracusan. r. Syracusan.
P. 192. L. 18. f. While he entered. r. While he was entering.
P. 209. N. 274. L. 2. f. *η*. r. *η*.
P. 211. L. 15. after *them* instead of a comma put a semi-colon.
P. 229. L. 13. f. and, and of *dele the latter and*.
P. 243. L. 4. no comma after *person*.
Ib. C. 2. L. 18. f. three hundred. r. one hundred.
P. 245. L. 2. f. controle. r. controll.
Ib. N. 28. C. 2. L. 6. f. cenuries. r. centuries.
P. 246. C. 2. L. 28. f. the in. r. in the.
P. 253. L. 13. no comma before nor after *all*.
P. 255. N. 37. C. 2. L. 8. f. chastised. r. chastened.
P. 256. L. 10. f. every every. r. every.
P. 259. L. 4. f. tymbals. r. tymbrels.
P. 262. L. 6. f. administered. r. administred. and strike out the comma after *those*.
P. 263. L. 10. f. curia. r. curiæ.
Ib. C. 1. L. 3. f. *κοθασια* r. *καθασια*.
P. 265. L. 17. after *think* r. *it*.
P. 266. C. 1. L. 12. f. with ease. r. at ease.
P. 268. L. 7. no comma after *even*.
Ib. N. 51. L. 2. f. Farratia. r. Farracia.
P. 269. N. 52. C. 2. L. 7. f. Duillius. r. Duilius.
P. 270. C. 2. L. 2. f. PRESENTED. r. PRAESENTED.
Ib. L. 3. f. OLORUM. r. OLOROM.
Ib. L. 4. f. PUGNANDOD. r. PUCNANDOD.
P. 277. L. 18. no comma after *things*.
P. 283. L. 11. no comma after *walls*.
P. 285. L. 6. no comma after *called*.
Ib. N. 68. L. 1. f. *κεκαρμεναις* r. *κεκαρμεναις*.
P. 287. L. 25. no comma after *greatly*.
P. 296. L. 7. no comma after *obliged*.
P. 304. C. 2. L. 8. f. *ΙΤΟΥΗΦΟΙ* r. *ΙΣΟΥΗΦΟΙ*.
P. 308. L. 16. no comma after *dwelt*.
P. 311. L. 7. f. Pomentine. r. Pometine.
P. 316. last line. f. Crustumerini. r. Crustumeri.
P. 328. L. 1. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 330. L. 3. f. of. r. on.
P. 348. L. 10. f. LXVII. r. LXVIII.
P. 352. C. 1. L. 1. f. *Χαλκημας*. r. *Χαλκεις*.
P. 373. L. 12. after *springing*. r. *and leaping*.
P. 365. L. 13. no comma after *punished*.
In the title page to Polybius, dele Hyphen between Sixth Book.
P. 375. L. 9. f. not only capable. r. capable not only.
P. 381. L. 15. after *it*, insert a comma.
P. 396. L. 2. f. *φυσει*. r. *φυσει*.
P. 407. N. 13. L. 5. f. miet. r. mit.
P. 414. L. 5. f. *μονεδη*. r. *μονεδη*.
P. 416. C. 1. L. 7. strike out *wonderful*.
P. 420. L. 11. f. *υμων*. r. *ημων*.
P. 443. §. IV. L. 8. f. nullus. r. nullis.



THE STATE OF NEW YORK

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